

[Ait Gasa]

/85 cont./

175 1259 Heg.: 1833 mentions some a. Gasa still living, who, driven
174 from Rekto, are now on the other side at Dddu-wzru.
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In the meantime, in the main valley, the Idma, and among them the family of the Iseqqalen (curiously, homonym of an ait Gasa family of Tannsmekht), have slowly spread. The first two acquirers of Iggiz, who are also intercessors, find themselves in part dispossessed. New times, new masters. It is their turn to set down istirca. Thus, in 1253 Heg.: 1837, Naqr u Ali Ikru solemnly protests against the encroachments of the ait Umghar of Tannsmekht and of Messaud u Jfa of Tamt'ddit. In fact the two taqbilt-s are in the full phase of personal power.

In 1252 Heg.: 1827, 12 old men from Usikis protest against a great amghar, an obstinate monopolist, and from whom only the epidemic of 1212 Heg.: 1798 could deliver them.

"The witnesses of those present know the late Lh'ajj Bujma Wakrim as-Saqali of Usikis by sight, name, and person. In testimony thereof, they state that in his lifetime he exercised his domination over the whole Idma tribe -- he and his sons, the Sheik Br'ahim b. al-H'ajj and Sidi Bel'ali, who thrust himself into the juridical consultations and was the Cadi for the entire tribe. Among the Idma there was no one who could set himself against him in the deliberations, nor any prevarications other than his.

"In his time, he and his sons bought land in all the cantons of the Idma tribe, took possession of their purchases, and were not belated anywhere in leaving rights in abeyance, since they kept power within living memory and thus maintained themselves until their death. This took place in 1214 (1800), the year of the epidemic. Their properties remain everywhere as they were. To our knowledge, no one has encroached upon them. But all that has remained as it is in the possession of their descendant Bella b. Moh'ammed, living today."

Thus the old egalitarian rule, presiding over the division of plunder, with the allotment of conquered lands, reacts each time that it /86/ can against the individuation of the law and the mobilization of the soil. A persistent legitimacy, which spans brutal evictions and contractual dispossessions, refers, after

/107 cont./

312 séguia contrived at mid-flank of the left bank will then have their full use. And not only the Talh'archt, whose intake, however, dominates Tuz'z'umt. It is indeed still higher, at Imi n-tghli, by way of the Targa n-berdun, that the people downstream are obliged to make the water pass. At Imi n-tghli, in fact, the utilizers observe -- a phenomenon doubtlessly related to the cessation of the primary soils -- a sudden loss, which no longer permits entrusting the waters to their natural bed. Thus it is only thanks to a series of works of art that, in the case of drought, far away in the Ud Bessebâ^c plain, the fellah of the Sa^cIdat or of the Ud Sawla can benefit from the rains falling on the distant Idma or in the more distant Taddert. And it happens only by making them cross, by the precious gift, the territory of several tribes. Veritable geographic concert! An organization of the space, of a space studded with rival centers, masters the difficulties caused by the long-term management of the waters. But that insofar as a certain atmosphere exists. Now, this is not always the case, even among contributors. The Idma of Taselli depend for their séguia on the a. H'adduyws, who control its intake. Hence continuous conflicts. Even between Idma, the enormous séguia of the Amerdul, which the stream takes twelve hours to travel, has no longer been the object of any attack on the part of the people of Tasa since an agreement at the beginning of the eighteenth century. But its distribution still causes numerous conflicts between the villages of Usikis, Ad'erd'ur, and Wanchkrir. On the whole, however, the system has held.

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312 The administration necessitates complicated and sometimes extremely delicate surveillance. It is a functionary who performs it, the amazzal, plur. imazzalen, or "runner" (cf. ar. /Arabic/ jerrāy). The fulfillment of such a role requires initiative and integrity, but it especially requires that a collective order, made of unwritten laws, work. The personage who assumes it is in general subject to the unanimous designation of his fellow citizens and can stay, even though upheld by the temporal authority, only with their confidence. A very old order, with

624 /107 cont./
312 immediate sanctions, and calling for its /108/ own application,
without discussion or appeal (1),

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1. J. Costa, Colectivismo agrario in España
/Agrarian collectivism in Spain/, 1915,
pp. 541 sq., also observes that the famous
Water Tribunal of Valencia, the Cort de la
Seo, is a very amicable jurisdiction. Conflict
could, at any moment, be removed to a
judiciary instance, but that never happened!

624 is glimpsed here. It sanctions a certain number of what we shall
312 call principles. For example, the upstream-downstream direc-
578 tion is the direction that governs the continuity of the irrigation,
628 and can, in case of conflicts between groups, give rise to au-
thoritarian application by the power. Thus the old legal dispute
between Gedmiwa and Mez'ud'a, for the séguías of the asif
el-Mál. Such a rule implies on the part of the upstream irrigator,
whom it favors, some discretion, community honor, care not to
harm the people below. That generally suffices among fellow
citizens. It is the primary step. Beyond that, there are agree-
ments between groups. Most often, they manifest very old bal-
ances and a statutory constancy. But occasionally also they are
more circumstantial: subject to mercenary debate or also to ritual
proceedings. A part of the water is bought, unless it is obtained
by the "injunction" of the Ar (2).

2. Cf. E. Westermarck, Ritual and belief in
Morocco, 1928, t. I, pp. 518 sq.

[648] This is what happened in a. Musa for the use of the water from
Aduz, in Ou Besseba^c for obtaining supplementary portions from
the séguías of the Seksawa or the Dwiran. This is what happens
generally at the time of the floods: the unforeseeability of a
windfall determines modes of distribution that amply go beyond
any strict regularity.

/115 cont./

233 But although this problem is enclosed within very wide perspec-
221 tives, perhaps certain historical features will confer a more
648 personal physiognomy on it. It is a fact that today the irreversibility of the movement has no explanation in the eyes of the people of the plain, struck by its inconsistency. But who knows whether it does not find its counterpart in the irrigation? The mountain tribes are masters over letting the water pass or not. A low-water custom and a high-water custom, applying different rates, govern the hydraulic and human relations, on both parts of the Dir. Perhaps also one might think that the ascent would not be favorable to the plains livestock, accustomed to a more /116/ clement temperature. Finally, the possibility of empty pasturage in the ample grain-lands of the plain exempts the tribes from below from going to search elsewhere. They consequently no longer desire the use of the high sectors and are not interested in it.

Nevertheless these explanations have left aside a fact more profound, although infinitely less clear: the solidarity between the mountain and the plain, point of departure of the present chapter. For what one finds here is a relation in a unique sense, singularly richer than the simple economic connection. Evidently, economic relations are largely outrun in the matter by other necessities, other habitudes, other feelings, other images. As proof, the political character of the relations that are established between tribes for the disposition of sectors indispensable to their movements. The fact is known for the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/, where it has conditioned all the demographic evolution and the distribution of powers in the mountains or plateaus, from the Jebel ^cAyachi to Fès and Meknès. But even in the zone that concerns us, recent incidences of these two orders of phenomenon one on top of the other have not been lacking.

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/The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ Although it may go beyond the chronological cadre, and only by title of example, let us note that the possession of the Tichka, disputed among Seksawa, a. Tkssit, Ijjanaten, Idaw Mqat't'ug, etc., failed, hardly later than 1930, to start a violent conflict.

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4. Idma:

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[613] The a. Ilarzg of Usikis have the initium for putting water in the ditches. The Iseqqalen abstain from all enterprises on Monday: one time when they intended to climb to Agersili on this day some of their girls died. The a. Ikru of Ad'erd'ur and of Wanchkrir open the tillage. Here is why. For six years the Idma had remained without rain; others say seven years. The ikhs-s took turns watching for clouds on the horizon. When it was the turn of the a. Ikru, rain fell, to the general delight. Whence the present practice. The ikhs-s that open the tillage in the other villages are: for Usikis, the a. Ilarzg; for Taselli, the a. Lh'sen.

5. In Imt'ddan, the a. Uchikar open the tillage and put water in the ditches. The ait Ubaqa slaughter the cow of Lalla Aziza.

6. In ait Mh'nd, the a. Bakhkha open the tillage.

7. In ait Musa, no qualification of this sort.

8. Ait Lh'sen:

[782] Wanz'id'. Tillage: a. H'sayn; irrigations: sacrifice to sidi Lw'li on the first Friday in March; harvest: a. Mulid; war: a. Berka.

Buteghradín. Tillage: 1. a. Mess'ud (Sunday); irrigations ditto; harvest: ditto.

[541]
[613] On the morning of the yenneyr, battle between ikhs-s by blows with clusters of nettles.

Agadir. Tillage: a. Naqr (Sunday); harvest (ditto); irrigations: a. Hammo; jumps into the fire the night of am'achur.

[541] Battle by blows with clusters of nettles.

Awinas. Tillage: a. Amar; harvest ditto; irrigation, a.

[578] Um'ali. Aspersions between ikhs-s on the morning of am'achur; dinner of porridge the night of the innair.

[262]
[613] Ighilen. Tillage: a. Mess'ud (Sunday); harvest: ditto; irrigation: a. Lechger. Same custom as above.

Tabratjut. Tillage: a. Mençur (Sunday); harvest ditto; irrigation: a. Ufqir Lh'sen. Custom of aspersions on the morning of the am'achur and of the porridge the night of the Yenneyr; battle by blows with clumps of grass.

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[541]

[Ait Mh'nd]

311 /181 cont./

103 dome stretching from these rocks to the Ameznir, and which bears the name of Un-an, Tag^wd'ayt, etc.

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On each of these quarters, all moreover privately appropriated, is affirmed the vocation of each ikhs, just as on the irrigated. But the distance, the difficulty of transport, and doubtlessly also the character of confines that, even on the scale of these cantons, these expanses offer in relation to the density, to the proximity, and, if I may venture to say it, to the "presence" of the irrigated ground, all of that results in the fact that the rivalries between the powerful are given a free course there, more or less excluding the weak. But the latter are aware of their rights. In August, 1950, interrogating with J. Dresch a modest livestock-breeder met on the side of the source, we were able to note that he enumerated, as his land right bearing on all the albur quarters, the following names:

- periphery of the crater: Anammer Udrar (on the Zkkat'), Inwalen (on the Awrir Iwiggin);
- in the direction of the Iubun: Griighrad'en, Anammer n-a. Lghachi, Unan (toward the Tizi Unluf), Talāint Umeznir, Ag^wni n-Ish'aq, Akhbu^wwagaywar, Albur i-ysekni;
- finally, in the thalweg: Imd'rar, Az'ru n-tmedda.

That is, for a very small country, a dozen quarters where, if one may say it, his vocation as owner and especially, in the case in point, as claimant will be exercised; this "right" ends up by constituting a sort of permanent blackmail of the poor.

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Let us say, in anticipating a little, that this rule has been cross-checked many times. It presents itself to the people of the country with the clearness of an organic law. It unites the life of the group and guarantees its equilibrium, through the judicial and moral tensions that, no less than the fruit of the fields, form its vitality, its virility, and ensure it against the precariousness and the perils of mountain life.

[Demsira]
[Nfifa]

/220 cont./

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423 and tools of the power of the plain, the Irohalen, region on a slope, without good irrigation, Permo-Trias reddening, the landed property distributes the ten ikhs-s, including Tamarut marabouts, over the different grounds: for example, "the field of the King," Iger ugellid, a nice cereal piece at the junction of the routes from the Sous and the H'sh'a, Awrir-an and the rounded hill below Ddusyan, reputedly fertile for wheat. A system of rents compensates for the risks of drought or of a bad harvest. In sum, sector with an eventful constitution and history, which is organized to the best of its rather precarious nature, but visibly according to the lines observed in more intact grounds.

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312 /221/ 4) A. Mh'and u Musa. Narrow affluent valley of the
[133] asif i-ymintanut. Law notably cross-checked for the villages of Ergtajelt (9 quarters), Aghella (8), Bwiugra (11). The irrigation is always administered by ikhs, but unequally, the ikhs-s having unequal rights according to the quarters. Finally, the law is felt and formulated.

... Nfifa...

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[131] Tribe completely of the piedmont. Occupies, besides the outlet of the col on the plain (Imintanut), the lower valley of the Amejnes and a "mountain" which is the North reverse of the Lemgo, as well as a plain on the confines of the Mtugga.

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423 1) In this latter domain was observed the working of the dis-
[634] tribution of land. It is the taqbilt called Wad l-lbûr. Seven a^cz'âm form it, all allogeneous. Not one autochthon. One of them, the a. Ali Umbarek, has its crops grouped upstream, mixed with those of the a. Abdnnur, "people of the mountain." But the 6 others are impeccably represented in each quarter. Besides, they are the ones that are designated, excluding the former, by a collective name: a. i-ymiz'z'er. The conflict between the rule of topographical distribution and possession, invoked by the a. Ali, who have all the crops massed around the source, gives rise to numerous clashes. In 1950 a transaction made allowances for things and combined the two systems to the

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The Rite of the Stone On the Boundary

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Boundary disputes between riversins are all the more frequent here because the modicity of the parcels makes one utilize as separation of the lands only the "lane" of grass saved sparingly between two tillages, or even stones put likewise on the fallow land and whose dotted line symbolically marks the passage from one right to another. The agricultural ground of the villages is thus constituted by tiny patches, sometimes reduced to one or two squares of irrigation: by them, as has been seen, each family is represented in each of the toponymic quarters whose ensemble forms the ground. Any one of these parcels is therefore defined less by the topography than by its fitting in between four others. From one to another, no interruption. Only just a difference of vegetation due to inequality of manure. It is necessary to hold the stalks apart in order to see a small, raised stone, *awuttu*, base of an ideal line sectioning the quarter perpendicularly to its axis. Here then is a peasant society without actual limitation of the lands. One conjectures that such a stage defies judiciary law. The problems that it poses in fact are those of a criticism of legitimacy, based on the contestation of civil status rather than concrete problems of emplacement. The former are never even with the plane of litigation. This is because they are amenable, not to a procedural course, but, if I may venture to say it, to an immediate law.

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A sacramental operation resolves them. An "oath," as one says, or rather a gesture explained by a formula. To whom is it administered? Here, naturally, there is no qualification as plaintiff or defendant (1).

1. Cf. H. Lévy-Bruhl, *op. laud.*, p. 95:

"There is neither plaintiff, nor defendant."

in spite of the influences released by the judiciary mores, and indirectly by a procedural automatism inspired by the cadis. Someone is summoned to justify the limit reached by his plowshare or his hoe. Unless it should be the claimant himself who offers to

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support his allegations by a solemn procedure. "Accept mine or I will accept yours," rd'iyi nghd rd'igh-ak, he says to his partner.

Notice the atmosphere in which this verb rd'ā plunges, the root of which, Arabic, but adopted by all the Moroccan dialects, evokes in fact relations anterior to or superior to the strict law.

It is in this way that in the sherifian chancellery a superlative of this root, ard'ā, qualifies the "faithful and beloved" vassal. A litigant adopts heartily, rd'ā, the sentence, or else accepts a

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/263/ witness, unless this should be the opposite. The ar. /Arabic/ Mā rd'ā-ch expresses the menacing despair into which iniquity plunges a person, driving him to a serious act: vengeance, malediction, suicide. As always in such cases, with rare outcroppings of a strongly archaic juridical lexicon, it is not so much an act that the word connotes as an attitude, a state. Corroded reminder of a stage when social relations were expressed as relations of "figure," of "personage," or, let us say, of status.

That undoubtedly accounts for the obscurity in which this agrarian ceremony plunges even now. Obscurity not only to our eyes, but also to the very ones of the actors. The devolution of the oath to one of the two adversaries is not regulated by anything expressible, in any case nothing that would be apt to be confessed by the present users. Doubtlessly it operates by virtue of emotions to which the tone of the words exchanged, the vigor of the cry of the one offended, the latent opinion of the riverains who flock together on the field contribute.

One of the two, then, proclaims that he is indeed at such-and-such a place in his rightful patrimony, aida-n-s. Simultaneously, he places on the contested spot a stone or clod dug from the field (1).

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1. We observed this practice nearly everywhere in Morocco. Always this unity of the ethnographic foundation!

A certain ambiguity of the interpretation may appear here according to the material of the instrument. The stone in the case at

/263 cont./

423 hand is also the landmark. The clod appears as a projection of
627 the field. Both may be considered as conveying the forces that,
578 by his gesture and his formula, the individual has in some way
fixed upon himself. This genre of interpretation comes very
easily to mind and cannot be seriously contested, whatever reser-
vations the excesses of the method in Maghrebi ethnology may
have inspired. Naturally, the local explanation is religious and
elaborated. It comes back to the meaning, affirmed or not:
"... that this stone should lie heavy upon me the day of the last
judgment." Whether or not that is a matter of a reinterpretation,
the thing is evident. The liaison of the stone with the idea of
boundaries is a general theme (2).

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2. Cf. A. Magdelain, Essai sur les origines
de la sponsio /Essay on the origins of the
sponsion/, 1943, p. 164, which indeed makes
evident the importance of "sworn law" as an
archaic stage, and p. 15 on the liaison of
Jupiter Terminus with a stone in the procedure
of the foedus /league between states, compact
between individuals/.

The value of the pebble, as representing the person (3).

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3. Hanoteau and Letourneux, La Kabylie et
les coutumes kabyles /Kabylia and Kabyle
customs/, 1873, t. II, p. 8, n. 1, mention,
without lingering on it, a remarkable rite of
apposition of a stone by each tribe in an im-
portant deliberation.

also appears here readily in the /264/ plural oaths: the first of the
coswearers alone pronounces the formula; the others validly limit
themselves to depositing small pebbles, tizratin, on the place of
the rite after him. And the practices of expulsion of fatigue or
of sickness which consist of the deposit of a stone have been

/264 cont./

423 pointed out in the Maghreb for a long time. In all this there is
627 an ensemble of closely related ideas which surrounds by its total
• 578 context our oath of boundaries. I might add that this last is of
[191] absolutely universal usage in Morocco, "Arab countries" in-
cluded, and that it seems to have the characteristics of the most
ancient institutional base.

423 On this level, we are fully in the atmosphere of "sworn law."
627 The "oath" acts naturally here as a very ancient mode of creation
of the law. It is it that preserves the veritable ordered dustiness
that, in the ancient equilibrium of the grounds, the infinite mul-
tiplicity of the patrimonial representation typifies. That is in-
deed a remarkable thing, and one that can give an idea of the
most archaic bases of this agrarian life.

Other Juridical Gestures

000 The Seksawa system further knows a certain number of courses
expressing the same genre of attitudes with decisive value.

586 A repudiated wife does not accept the marriage settlement
691 and the acquiesces that the husband has handed over to her. She
makes a bundle of them and, in spite of the resistance of the
chorus, justly disturbed, she "projects" it "to the heart of the
jemâa." Consequently she is considered free of the consequences
which the apprehension of the objects would have implied for her
and which would have meant replevin for her. Quite the contrary,
she henceforth poses as claimant, as suppliant. The jemâa feels
obliged to intervene for her. As most often happens in similar
cases, it is in a reconciliation -- that is, in juridical language,
691 in a transaction -- that the scandal will end. The frequency of
this genre of denouements in the oldest atmosphere of the Magh-
rebi law, and this was on the occasion of litigations brought be-
fore the cadi, has struck all the observers. Paradox, one might
think, in a society so contentious! But it is more instructive to
see here the victorious rise of an old juridical base running
through the modern proceedings. There would be the key to this
procedural anomaly.

/265 cont./

42 exactly, he henceforth assumes the personage of the usurper:
627 itrama, new verb of condition. His interim, one might say, has ended, and the wrong inflicted on the old order by the working of monetary abundance in certain hands. And, by a new significant trait, the point of departure of the restitution depends on the time when the tamuzunt can be inserted in the agricultural calendar (2):

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2. Similarly in old Kabyle law. Cf. L. Milliot, "Le qanoun d'Ighil n-Zekri /The qanoun of Ighil n-Zekri/," R. al., 1930, p. 247.

if it is after uktuber (Julian October), a new cereal campaign is permitted for the creditor. Other moments foreseen in what concerns arboriculture. One feels in all that instructive interferences between the life of nature, that of the group, and the overt mechanisms for the initiative of the individuals.

The dispossessions resulting either from a fraudulent prolongation of the rrahn or from assault are certainly numerous in the
• [578] Seksawa past. They have as their source inequities in the distribution of capital and power among the families. However that may be, they give rise to a violent ethical reaction. One will see shortly the consequences on the procedure itself. For the moment here is a curious form of it, improperly rigged out in the Mussulman dress of the istir^Câ or "act of reserves" (3).

3. Cf. the act translated and commented upon in J. Berque, "Documents anciens sur la coutume immobilière des Seksawa /Ancient documents on the landed-property customs of the Seksawa/," R. afr., 1948, p. 369.

Let us now listen to this act of the Idaw Geryun, dating from 1102 Heg.: 1691.

42 /266/ /The following paragraph is in small type in the orig-
691 inal source./ "Let it be known to him who, if God wishes,
538 would stop here, O family and doctors of the Mussulmans, the a.
539 Wašziz of Alus make public and decry, raising their plaint up to
the throne of Misericord, that the a. H'sayn..., that they make
istirCā' against them on the parcels... [The indication of a long
conflict follows]... They have nothing here, and their usufruct
is but usurpation. The a. Wašziz complain before the people of
the Tamgonsi, large and small, men and women, free and
slave..."

42 What counts here is not the "reserve" that a more evolved
691 right would stipulate, bringing into play some theory of the vice
577 of consent. It is the imprecatory value of the attitude. The
solemnity of the expression has been noted. This cry causes "the
throne of God" to shake, which recalls the very image of an old
Greek formula. Doubtlessly, one addresses oneself to God and
blasts an injustice. But the religious and moral coloration cer-
578 tainly does not go back to the most ancient base. One conjectures
691 this base from the various gestures (1)
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1. In a neighboring domain, the Gedmiwa,
some of these gestures are described in an
in. /unpublished/ study by Lepage, Le droit
coutumier des Gedmiwa /The customary law
of the Gedmiwa/.

by which the reaction of the victim is expressed still today.

This is first of all an interjection, šwqāwq. It rejects tenden-
tious allegations, draws attention to bad faith, and appeals against
the powerful. In graver cases of oppression, characterized by a
continuous state, the weak one has at his disposal a crescendo of
means: to carry a candle end, lqandil, to the court of the judge,
to wander through the villages, the head smeared with the soot
coming from the breaking of a pot or covered with a mat; to pro-
claim, to make public, berrh', in the markets that one is the
000 victim of so and so. Beyond that there is emigration, a frequent

Beyond that

- 578/266 cont./ there is emigration, a frequent
42 form of protest against an oppressor judged for the moment to be
166 stronger and against whom one insists on one's rights. It is in
this way that the notarial practice knows "safeguard" acts,
istih'fâz', most often confused with those of istir'câ'. Whence,
moreover, the frequent allegation of absence, interruptive of
prescription, in instances of a more complex and more mature
turn to which the revendication of land gives rise. Evidently,
the Mussulman theory of the ghayba, "imprescriptibility based on
absence," has provided there only a convenient cadre for an old,
local notion, both economic and ritual: the absent one is also
the suppliant. His flight obscurely "obligates" the one provok-
ing it.

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These manifestations do not go, as in other societies, so far
as the man's suicide. But it is striking that the Chleuh /Shluh/
woman rather frequently has recourse to this genre of protestation.
She hangs herself or throws herself into a cistern. And, in fact,
in spite /267/ of the juridical capacity which not only the law but
the mores recognize for her, and which her psychological propen-
sity makes her exercise fully, her life in certain respects is more
amenable to an extrajudicial plane than that of the man. Per-
haps because of lesser communal implication: economy of the
gift during the long betrothal, assiduous practice of magic, re-
lationships of fides in the marriage state, recognized aptitude for
imprecatory procedures. It is in these perspectives that it is
necessary to study the act, rich in social consequences, that the
suicide of the woman constitutes, an act relatively frequent, and
which manifests the rupture, voluntary or not, of the bond of the
group. Most often it is a solemn protestation against the wrong
suffered. But it may also result from a disorder inflicted by
mysterious powers. For example, during the winter of 1953, all
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787 the women of Usikis incurred the anger of a saint by collecting
herbs in the reserved meadows of the Tasila. They were seized
by "demoniac" manifestations, that in one or two cases went

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794 The fund coming from all these contributions is subjected among foqra to egalitarian division. They put it together with the product of the offerings, oboles, etc., collected all during the year in the box, rrbi^{ct}, placed in the zaouia, under the name of tisura, plural of tasarut, literally: "keys," analogous to the Arabic futūh'st. This benefice is defined by those interested as a lh'obūis, "pious foundation." The analogy is only a rough one. Violent competitions between rightful claimants, on one hand, between moqaddem and other beneficiaries, on the other /290/ hand, between men and women also often arise and necessitate the intervention of justice. One of these conflicts broke out in 1949 and had to be settled by the assembly of all the Seksawa, constituted as a supreme court, as parties interested in the highest degree by the questions touching upon their saint. An initial deduction of one tenth was set apart for widows and daughters in a state of need, the rest forming the object of an egalitarian division among all the foyers, with the reserve of a preference share for the moqaddem.

The Legend

773 The largest part of the revenues come at the great moments of collective tension of the two annual feasts. But before even describing these two feasts, and first from the outside, before any interpretation, as it is time to become acquainted with the legend, I shall give below the account of it that was collected about forty years ago, with an exactitude not suspected of sociological ambition, by the French naturalist Brives, the memory of whom still survives in the valley because he was "the friend" of Lalla Aziza (1).

1. Brives, Voyages au Maroc /Travels in Morocco/, 1909, pp. 256 sq.

We are on the terrace of a house which faces, from the other side of a ravine, that of the saint. All the terraces blaze out

/436 cont./

preceding notations will suffice to support a judgment, moreover above all critical. It is legitimate to conjecture a constant fluidity between denominations of groups habitually distinguished by the user as well as by the research worker. The surprising thing is not that interferences should be produced between agrarian or urban confraternities, corporations, territorial cadres and genealogical systems. It is that they should be so numerous. It is that they coexist with an evolution that belies them on many grounds. [171] Between forms such as tribe, confederation, league, coff, leff, party, even qualifications within the hierarchies of the profane and of the sacred, the exchange has been perpetual in North Africa, and still continues.

Morphological Thresholds

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[695] Let us return to the native interpretation. It brings together the fraternity of leff with that of blood or of the oath. This proximity may be attributed to the decadence of the types. But let us note that many of the traits that in our view distinguish these three notions amount to a morphological variation linked to the broadness of play. From the least broad cadre: this ground where, the patrimonies are organized, to the broadest: the whole section of the Moroccan South that covers the chessboard of the leagues, several thresholds are interposed. Each indicates a changing of social rhythm.

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[613] As has been seen, on this side of the first threshold, the small taqbilt of the Haut-Atlas prevails. It forms its agnatic subdivisions without anything /437/ being interposed between their strife and its order. This is not to say that this strife, in certain respects, does not go beyond internal law. But the ikhs indeed has the feeling of consanguinity, and many of the conflicts that it has with the other ikhs-s are amenable to sworn law. The cadre of the taqbilt, although it carries within itself an explosive force, moreover owes to its agrarian correspondences an exemplary distinctness. (Opposite to this, the genealogical tribe never offers in North Africa, we believe, as pure an example.)

/16 cont./

133 more than 3,000 meters of altitude with their mules, difficult
491 roads that, in addition, are enlivened by the passage of the
[492] women, children, and flocks.

[233] The transhumance of the sheep and goats, the exchange of
[438] the walnuts, wool, and almonds of the high valleys for the
grain, tea, sugar, and manufactured objects from the souks
/socks/ of the Dir maintain the continuity of these relations.

The activity observed on these crests during the days of spring
and summer is enough to make one understand the importance
of the bonds that unite plain and mountain.

In vain does the internal partitioning of the valleys, which
the successive tiers of the Atlas cut up into separate basins and
seal up by gorges, isolate the villages one from another. In
* [634] spite of the reciprocal hostility of the Berbère /Berber/ cantons
[578] on the same route of passage, one sees alliances established at
[437] great distances, from the North to the South, in the direction
followed by the transverse routes of the mountains. The small
states of the summits are associated with the villages of the last
slopes or of the plain in the same way.

361 On the other hand, relations are difficult between villages
628 established at the same altitude in the parallel valleys, and only
[487] goat paths permit passing from one to the other; besides, since
[438] economic exchanges between the neighboring populations who
live under identical conditions are of no interest, one understands
that the political horizon of the small mountain states, so ex-
tended toward the North or toward the South, in the direction of
the plain of Marrakech or the interior plain of the Sous, is, on
the other hand, toward the East or toward the West limited for
each of them to the closest villages.

491 VIII. The mountain massifs. -- The role of these great
routes of passage that cross the two chains is not only /17/ to
facilitate the moving of people and economic activity. They
[184] cut the Atlas and Anti-Atlas into separate massifs, inside which
the material and social life of the tribes takes on peculiar forms,
which give each of them a true originality and explain the

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361 political units opposed to one another (1).
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1. The character of the internal divisions of these small units is nowhere more apparent than at Tisgin of the Gedmiwa, where a dozen hamlets forming four different political groups are juxtaposed in the center of an olive grove.

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The Berbère /Berber/ villages are not all alike.

When one leaves the plains to go into the mountains, one sees first of all the villages of the Dir following one another on the first slopes, then the small hamlets of the valleys and sometimes, still higher, several big villages of the summits.

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On the Dir, the human groupings often take on a defensive aspect. The houses press against the flank of the mountain, while the crops stretch out on the plain. When security permits, there exist at the same time a mountain village solidly constructed of stone and, in the middle of the irrigated crops and the "bour" /unirrigated lands/, some hastily built "azib," where the flocks and field workers take shelter. If the Makhzen /makhzan/ makes peace reign in the country, these light constructions of the plain soon become true villages in their turn (2).

2. The double establishment on plain and mountain of the Dir tribes can be observed especially among the Gedmiwa, Dwiran, and Mzouda. Mountain villages and plains azibs often bear the same name. The tribe's territory in the Atlas is thus completed by a broad cultivated expanse in the Azaghar. The internal fractionizing and the political divisions of the tribe that exist in the mountains are found as if projected in the plain, and the same struggles are carried on there between the same parties. When insecurity appears and

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221 one will see men, women, children, flocks assemble in order to
233 go to live in the pastures of the high summits two months of complete freedom, far from the casbahs, the kaids, and the roads of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

*634 The only fear of the montagnards is that foreigners may
*631 come to disturb the life of their cantons, that they may be introduced into the country by means of disputes -- whose frequency sometimes seriously risks disturbing the regular course of
177 the institutions, and that they may cause their small state to be
578 included in the vast possessions of a great chief; so every ambitious man soon becomes suspect; one who through his speech or his actions rises above the council is in fact the same one who would go away tomorrow to ask for support in a neighboring casbah and would lead the "harka of the Makhzen" up to the outskirts of the villages; it is thus fitting for him to die so that the country may keep its independence. The dagger, poison, or a fortunate accident promptly puts an end to his imprudent acts.

*631 /133/ V. The Haut-Atlas before the development of the
175 power of the great chiefs. -- These simple and anarchic customs,
178 which are no longer observed at present except in the vicinity of the summits, were a short time ago those of a large part of the mountains. Sixty years ago, the oldest old men can easily still tell us, a large number of small autonomous republics passionately attached to the preservation of their liberty crowded around the peaks of the Tichka and Igdad and remained faithfully attached to their oligarchic constitutions. The great lords of today, whose knowledgeable policy of intervention has greatly reduced the extent of the country remaining free, were then only chiefs without importance. Among the Mtougga it was the minor kaids of the family of the Ait Mousa who, ceaselessly threatened by the powerful Abdallah Ou Bihi, engaged all their efforts in obscure clan struggles, at the very gates of Bouaboud; similarly, the Gontafi was only a simple sheik from the Oued Nefis, subject, as were his like from the valley, to a kaid settled at the edge of the Jebel Kik in the casbah of Agergour, several hours' march from Marrakech.

/135 cont./

175 On the south versant of the Atlas, the development of the in-
 *631 fluence of the Makhzen /makhzan/ in Taroudant succeeded during
 *634 the same period in detaching new fractions from the group of the
 Tichka: the Ergita, the Mentaga lost their liberty, while the
 cantons of Talemt and Talekjont were attracting to them a part
 of the populations of the high valleys who were attached to them
 by bonds of secular alliance. Thus, in the course of the last three
 generations one has not ceased to see the boundaries of Berbère
 /Berber/ independence progressively shrink.

Finally, for twenty years, the group of the fractions that in
 spite of everything had succeeded in preserving outward independ-
 ence, by an unexpected consequence of the struggle against the
 great chiefs, has in turn had to sacrifice internal freedom. By a
 [649] series of small revolutions, most of the tribes of the high moun-
 tains have been led to reject the oligarchic regime in order to ac-
 cept the more energetic and at the same time more flexible gov-
 ernment of the minor chiefs who have taken the title of "amghar."
 Among the Seksawa, personal power has successively appeared in
 the fractions of the AIt 'Abdallah, the AIt Lhasen, the Idma, the
 AIt Haddiyous, and by degrees the movement has attracted the
 Demsira, the Ida Ou Mahmoud, the Gedmiwa of the upper valleys.

*631 Nevertheless, the transformation has taken place more slowly
 *634 in the high mountains than in the middle valleys because the tra-
 [178]ditions remained stronger. Under the supreme authority of the
 "amghars," one still sees the "AIt Arba'in" and the "moqaddems"
 holding their councils in our day. It is no less certain that the
 progressive development of personal power prepares and announces
 the final ruin of the last center of resistance of the Genfisa and the
 [648]general transformation of the Berbère /Berber/ institutions. If our
 intervention, which stopped the political rivalry of the great chiefs
 in these independent regions, had not disturbed the natural course
 of evolution, the amghars of the Seksawa would already have been
 able to ally themselves with the strongest neighboring great kaid
 and make /136/ the last traces of the government of the assemblies
 disappear in their turn. For the moment, inaccessible in their
 •[578] secluded valleys, the minor independent chiefs, divided by the

/136 cont./

*631 traditional quarrels of the fractions of the high mountains, stir
 *634 about in their minuscule states; they patiently wait for a favor-
 •[578] able occasion for having the authority that they have acquired
 recognized for their profit. Thus the last stage of the political
 evolution of this high-mountain region will be realized by sub-
 mission and the direct recognition of their power by the Makhzen
 /makhzan/ (1).

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1. Since the French penetration in the Atlas
 has been accentuated, the minor chiefs of
 the Seksawa have submitted directly, without
 passing through the agency of the Bouaboud
 chiefs, to our bureaus of native affairs in
 1927. The Ida ou Tanan followed their ex-
 ample a few months later.

*631 Without having the importance of the independent group of
 619 the Tichka, whose state permits us to understand the whole evo-
 121 lution of the Atlas of the Masmouda, since we can observe there
 all the phases of the political transformation of the tribes, the
 autonomous fractions of the Sirwa nevertheless afford particular
 [178] interest. They represent in our day the only vestige of ancient
 [174] institutions preserved within the great command of the Glaoui and
 help us to find again what the social organization of this whole
 region was before the rapid and destructive conquest of 1913.

*631 It is thanks to their isolation that the small groups of pasto-
 *634 ralists of the Ikhzamen, Ait Maghli, Ait 'Abdallah, Ait Qalla,
 619 in the confederation of the Ait Waouzgit, have up to now escaped
 [669] the total ruin that struck the republics of the neighboring valleys.
 [712] As a matter of fact, near the summits of the Sirwa efforts of re-
 sistance to the political transformation were concentrated around
 large "agadirs" similar to the fortresses of the Anti-Atlas, which
 enclose at the same time the citadel, the mosque, the general
 storehouse, and even the bank of these little rude cities. But be-
 fore the subjugation of the country, many cantons of the Ait

/139 cont./

175 In the same period, and up to the establishment of a caliph-
*631 ate of the sultan at Tiznit in the last years of the nineteenth
178 century, the villages of the plains and irrigated oases, such as
Massat, M'ader, Aglou, Tiznit, had also kept their democratic
[619] organization intact. Without doubt these small tribes, which
• [578] were like melting pots into which the most diverse elements
from mountain and plain came to be blended, were torn by in-
ternal party struggles. But perpetual anarchy did not succeed
destroying the vitality of these surprising republics, ceaselessly
divided, ceaselessly reconstituted (1).

1. Cf. our study on the tribe of Massat,
Hespéris, 1924, 4th quarter.

It was only the constant presence of the Sultan's representatives,
after the expeditions of Moulay el Hasan, the desolation of fam-
ines and epidemics at the time of El Hiba, and above all the
abrupt re-establishment of the order of the Makhzen /makhzan/
since 1916 that could have caused the inner life of past times to
disappear. Here again, it would suffice to question the old men
in order to know what this country was before being reduced to
the state of dismal passivity which at present no longer distin-
guishes it from the most submissive regions of the Empire.

121 /140/ VII. The successive phases of the transformation of
128 the South of Morocco. -- It was not the desire to use a convenient
*631 method of exposition of our subject that led us to imagine the fic-
tion of a walk across the Sous under the guidance of companions
of the great kaid, then that of an ascent on one of the mountain
summits, thanks to the information of the inhabitants of the high
valleys. In reality, we were able in this way to examine the two
opposite aspects of the country, that of the Atlas seen from Mar-
rakech, as the Makhzen and the chiefs perceive it or wish to de-
scribe it, and that of the Berbère /Berber/ republics, whose
number and vitality one can get to observe only by slipping away
from the official guides for an instant and, on the contrary, casting
one's eyes from the highest regions toward the plain.

/144 cont./

121 by their origins, belong more to the tradition of the Makhzen
*631 /makhzen/.

*634 Finally, the tribes of the two versants of the Atlas, in the
121 land of the Haha, the interior plain of the Sous and of the
*631 Chtouka, will give us good examples of definitive submission to
648 the Sultan. The undertakings of 'Abdallah ou Bihi in the mid-
dle of the nineteenth century, and, nearer to us, those of the
Glawa, will help us to understand the last phase of the transfor-
mation of the tribes. It is only then, as we shall see, that all
the former cadres are broken; having arrived at this degree of
submission, the Berbère /Berber/ country has the same regime
of government as the great plains of the North peopled by Arabs,
dominated by kaid, caliphates, or sheiks, themselves delivered
up to the caprices of the Makhzen. The Sultan's absolute power
is thrust upon all; but this despotic Makhzen itself remains
threatened by internal anarchy; it struggles desperately, until
/145/ the establishment of our Protectorate, against the inces-
sant revolts that break out on all the confines of the Empire.

121 VIII. The political transformation of the Sous, image of that
*631 of Berbérie /Barbary/. -- Our ignorance of the history of the in-
ternal life of the tribes does not permit us to study the evolution
of the Moroccan South over a long period. We shall scarcely suc-
ceed in following it during the course of the events that have dis-
turbed the Sous for three generations. But in this brief interval of
time we are going to see the obstinate will of the Berbères /Ber-
bers/, whose ideal is to realize, by their constitutions, the chimera
[642] of the equitable sharing of the advantages of power, to clash with
[598] the unbridled ambition of the amghars and kaid.

*631 The transformation that results from this struggle and is ac-
178 complished in less than a century, according to the same rules,
121 at different points of a vast province, is not, we now know, the
first that the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ has undergone. Other
chiefs, as we have seen, rose and grew in importance in this
same country at the times of the Almohades and Mérinides; if
we cannot know the conditions under which their power took

/192 cont./

*631 of Berbère /Berber/ alliances; /193/ but the latter are still intact
*634 enough for one to find still in our day, on the south versant of
616 the Atlas, the commands of minor sheiks and their zones of in-
[178] fluence tangled together in a form that can be explained only by
the distribution of the cantons between the two leffs. Thus the
amghar of Talekjont talks with his mountain brothers, Imedlaoun,
Tigouga, Igoudachen, while his rival from Talemt sees descend-
ing into his casbah the warriors of the Ida ou Kwais, Aggounsane,
• [578] Ida ou Msattog. Each minor chief tries to increase his authority
by stirring up discord and protecting the stronger ones. In every
circumstance he defends and supports his leff brothers against the
neighbors, and the reciprocal hate of the "Ida ou Zeddagh" and
the "Alt Zolit" is thus concentrated and symbolized in the strug-
gle of the two houses of Talemt and Talekjont at the foot of the
Dir.

616 VI. Geographical boundaries of the leffs of the Masmouda.

619 -- When this system of alliances, into which all the mountain
131 cantons formerly entered, still had all its force, the boundaries
of the leffs of the Masmouda appeared more easily than in our
day. They were very precise and nearly always marked by natural
geographic frontiers. To the West, the "Indghertit" and the
"Imisfern" did not overstep the Makhzen route that traverses the
Atlas from Imi n Tanout to the Tizi Ma'cho. The Mtougga,
Haha (1).

1. The Haha in their totality make use of
the "leff" of the Igezzoulen of the Anti-Atlas.

and Ida Ou Tanan, as far as we can go back into the history of
their internal wars, seem to have escaped the influence of these
two great alliances (2).

2. Doutté has described among the Haha
(Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905,

571 /196/ VIII. The soff, alliance of families. -- The little
*634 states of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, like all the Berbère /Ber-
613 ber/ communities, know a form of division other than that of
the leffs: the one that results from the rivalry, warlike or pa-
cific, of the "ikhs" or family groups within a canton (1).

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1. Sometimes, in the regions subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/, the name of "soff" is given to the institution that we have described here under the name of "leff" or "amqon." We shall distinguish the two terms here and shall reserve the word "soff" to designate exclusively the alliance of families.

571 While in most cases the "taqbilt" or cantons enter by whole
*634 units into the alliance of the leffs, there almost always exists in
each of them two or several parties, often supported by foreign-
ers, and whose discords disturb a whole part of the mountain on
the slightest pretext. But these associations, which do not have,
like the leffs, any territorial base, are much less stable. They
unite only for a few years families interested in the defense or con-
quest of power or those who are constrained to form a party hastily
in order to avenge the dead or to assassinate an overly powerful
enemy. The Berbères /Berbers/, with the usual imprecision of
their language, also give these private alliances the name of
[171] "amqon." In order to distinguish them from the leffs, we shall
give them the name of "soff," utilizing the word that designates
similar associations of families in Kabylie /Kabylia/; besides, their
importance is such in the Djurjura that they seem to have made
the leffs of former times disappear (2).

2. See farther on, p. 289.

Among the Masmouda the "soff" never extends beyond the
territory of a few cantons. It remains a private institution, whose
[616] nature opposes to a certain degree the institutions of the "taqbilt,"
[578] whose unity it threatens; there is not recognized for it, as in

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Kabylie /Kabylia/, any official existence, and we have seen that it was not rare to see the leff, represented by the warriors of the allied cantons of the vicinity, intervene in internal discords, in order to impose peace on the families engaged in overly passionate soff disputes.

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IX. Research on the origin of the leffs of the Haut-Atlas. -- When one looks for the causes that could have produced the institution of the leffs, which, as we have seen, goes beyond the cadre of the political life in order to embrace at the same time the greater part of the commercial and /197/ economic activity of the small Berbère /Berber/ republics of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, one is first tempted to explain this state of division by ethnic reasons; one willingly imagines that this organization represents, for example, the survival of the state of war between the autochthons and the invaders, belonging respectively to two great opposed families. What may suggest this explanation is the very name that in other regions is taken by the great leffs whose aspect we shall describe: the "Igezzoulen" and the "Isouktan" in the Anti-Atlas, the "Senhaja" and the "Ghomara" in the north of Morocco. As a matter of fact, they were originally large Berbère /Berber/ families who were occupying the country in historic times or who came to invade it, disputing between them the possession of the soil.

It is very easy, however, to convince oneself that in the Haut-Atlas, in this region where the leffs have precisely preserved up to these last years a great vitality, this hypothesis cannot by itself alone explain the present state of the institution. The diversity of the families that form the "taqbilt," the progressive renewing of the elements that constitute the tribes by the rise or the disappearance of the fractions of which they are made up, the ethnic stability of a region that for ten centuries does not seem to have known any important changes in the way of invasion or conquest, are so many reasons that oppose an explanation of the leffs, as they are constituted in our day, by the constant struggle between two opposed races. Besides, one would not find in the information that we are given by the historians or geographers

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The frontiers of these small states are not actually always determined by geographic accidents; often they run capriciously on the fertile plateaus, in the irrigated valleys, project in a point without apparent reason, and seem to us to be much oftener the limits of expansion of the small groups of families that constitute the "taqbilt" rather than the natural barriers that contain them. Moreover, we can verify the same balanced distribution of the two leffs on the steep slopes of the south versant of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ among the Ida ou Zeddagh and the Alt Semmeg; here, however, no geographic division appears to us any more to separate from one another these groups of hamlets established on the inclined flank of the mountain or in the vicinity of springs. It is the same in the region of the Sirwa and the plateaus of the Azilal of the Alt Waouzgit, where the villages press around streamlets of water that have escaped from the volcanic plateau and are separated by immense desert spaces, the same again on the plateau of the Souktana, bereft of natural internal frontiers suitable for separating the "taqbilt." Nevertheless the tribes in these regions are divided into fractions united in two chains of alliances whose appearance is identical with the leffs of the Gedmiwa of the high mountains.

Finally, as we have seen, the division of the country into opposed cantons, regularly alternated, is still more marked on the passage of the great natural routes of communication and of the valleys such as the Asif Nefis, the Zagmouzen, the Tifnout, as if the absence of geographic boundaries between the Berbère /Berber/ communities had, on the contrary, the effect of reinforcing their respective oppositions and of /199/ distributing the small states in a still more perfect manner between two balanced leffs (1).

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1. Under the circumstances, one could invoke for the irrigated valleys the discords that the use of the water usually entails (compare our study on Massat, Hesperis, 1924, p. 362). It might be that the very frequent disputes that arise from the use of the séguías may have

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/footnote 1 continued/ played an important role in the formation of the alliances, for the region of the middle or lower course of the wadis. This argument, however, is worthless in the high mountains where irrigation problems are unimportant and easy to solve.

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History and ethnography throw only very feeble light on the origins of the Berbère /Berber/ alliances of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/. One will not be surprised that this institution has never been, in spite of its importance, described by scholars. Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/ scarcely tells us, while reporting the struggles that set the chiefs of the Gedmiwa, of the Seksawa, and of the Hintata against one another in the fourteenth century, that it was only a matter of wars brought on "by the ordinary causes that introduce discord between neighboring tribes, namely: the proximity of their territories and the memory of their former disputes" (2).

2. Ibn Khaldoun, Vol. II, pp. 267-268.

This is enough for one to suppose that it is a matter of struggles between leffs, but we should like to find some more precise information from the pen of the only historian who would have liked to make known the life of the Berbères /Berbers/.

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Nevertheless, El Beidaq, in his valuable list of the Almohade fractions at the time of the Mahdi (3),

3. El Beidaq, Documents inédits d'Histoire almohade /Unpublished Documents of Almohade History/, p. 63.

gives us some interesting information. The Gedmiwa, he tells us; include 46 fractions: the Alt Yalmazdog -- vanished today, then the "Banou Masifra," "who pass in review first"; next, the "Inad Ghertit," "who are mountain Gedmiwa." Thus we see figuring in

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/footnote 2 continued/ of the Zagmouzen, and the Berbère /Berber/ form "Isouktan" to indicate the leff.

In the Souktana tribe, the fractions of the Alt Sous, Alt Fenzer of Tinfat, Ounzen, Tounan, and El Hazen belong to the leff of the "Isouktan"; those of the Alt Tazoult, Alt Ighriten, Alt Hamid, Intaoun, Ighghedioun are "Igezzoulen"; Azrar, Izazen, and Imghartiyn are divided between the two leffs.

XI. Political role of the leffs of the Anti-Atlas. -- The importance of the leffs in the political life of the Anti-Atlas varies according to region.

South of the Sirwa, it remained very great up to the time of the conquest of the Glawa. In this part of the country, each one still knows with great precision the boundary of each of the parties; the marabouts especially, used to going to pacify discords at /map appears here/ /203/ a great distance, carefully make out which alliance they are dealing with in the smallest village.

In the central Anti-Atlas, in the heart of the great mass of Igezzoulen of the mountains, the feeling of the brotherhood of the tribes is inevitably disturbed by internal discords; it is only at the boundary of the "Aoggwa" tribes that the hatreds are revealed with force between the two parties. Thus the struggle of the Alt Mzal, who are Aoggwa, and the Ilalen, of the alliance of the Igezzoulen, for possession of the souks /sooks/ is inflamed by the spirit of the leffs.

In the Tiznit plain, war between the two alliances was constant before our occupation, and the poets used to find an inexhaustible source of inspiration in these combats. In seems, besides, that in the vicinity of the coast the preponderance of the mountain over the plain gave the pride of their strength to the "Igezzoulen," long grouped in independence around the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 271]

/204 cont./

616 of the "Igezzoulen"; then, according to tradition, he came back
619 to the Sous across the mountains, carrying along behind him con-
648 tingents from all the tribes subjugated, amidst combats, by the
175 safe route toward the North offered him by the Ammeln, the Ida
[173] ou Gnidif, and the Alt Mzal, of the leff of the "Aoggwa." Fifty
years later Hajj 'Abdallah Ou Bihi, Caliphate of the Sous in the
reign of Sidi Mohammed, contrary to his predecessor Aghennaj,
remembered again that the tribes of the Haha all belonged to the
great leff of the Igezzoulen and celebrated in great pomp his
alliance with the son of Sidi Hachem; for having changed tradi-
tional policy in this way, however, he had to pay for this triumph
with his life, by drinking, under the Sultan's eyes, the poison re-
served for the enemies of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

616 XII. Historical hypotheses on the formation of the two leffs
• 578 of the Anti-Atlas. -- Although the appearance of the leffs is
174 more complex here than in the Atlas of the Masmouda, it is
[184] easier to perceive in this region the origin of these two alliances.
In the minds of the tribal Berbères /Berbers/, among the Souktana
or the Alt Mzal, for example, the two leffs represent the tradi-
tion of ancient quarrels between two rival families at the time
when the populations of the Anti-Atlas were still living in the
desert; in support of this argument, people assert that the hatred
of the two leffs has remained much more passionate in the vicini-
ty of the Sahara. But the aggravation of the struggle of the
parties is explained as well in these confines by the closer mix-
ture of the families belonging to the two leffs and which came
recently to colonize the oases of the Bani.

616 The name of the leffs of the Anti-Atlas, which designate
174 either a big family of invading Berbères /Berbers/ -- the Igez-
zoulen -- or former tribes, like the Isouktan and the Aoggwa,
and the very aspect of the two opposing alliances distributed in
large masses around the summits or along the routes of penetra-
tion suggest rather the idea that this institution takes its origin
here in the mode of the peopling of the land. Our ignorance of
the history of the /205/ tribes permits us only to imagine how

/227 cont./ One still sees

* 634 at present, figuring in the annual accounts that the moqaddem
652 has to render to his successor, the purchase of a she-mule of-
178 ferred as "hedia" /hadiyah, "gift"/ to the powerful kaid of
[431] Bouaboud (2).

2. From F. de La Chapelle (ibid.).

* 634 Often another custom, particularly widespread in the Sous and
681 Anti-Atlas, is introduced, which permits avoiding the difficulties
574 of the distribution of the fines: that of the "imensi n tqbilt," the
[84] dinner offered by the guilty one to the inflas of the fraction.
The menu of /228/ this meal is fixed in advance according to
the importance of the crime or offense; it is always accompanied
by an offering of lumps of sugar.

The rapacity of the "inflas" -- well known and even prover-
bial, since it is said in the Sous plain that they would be capable
of claiming up to the dogs' share of an inheritance -- is given
free play at the "imensi n tqbilt." In this circumstance the
• [578] beneficiaries of these common meals are sometimes seen to
quarrel because one of them invites, without the authorization of
the assembly, a passing guest. In fact, it seems impossible to
acknowledge to them that this outsider thus diminishes everyone's
part and takes away from the family heads the just payment to
which they are entitled (1).

[671]

1/ Certain customary regulations gravely dis-
cuss this problem of distribution, and people
consent to close their eyes to the wrong done
to the inflas by the invitation of a guest on
condition that the latter take only one single
mouthful from the dish, through simple polite-
ness (Droit coutumier de l'Agadir de Tamaloukt
/Customary law of the Agadir of Tamaloukt/,
communicated by M. Ben Daoud).

* 634 /230 cont./

619 pledges consisting of a certain number of guns. If the guilty
692 ones are marabouts, who do not have guns, they pay a fine in
184 the form of animals destined for the common meals. The next
178 day, the "ajmo'a" moves on, following a traditionally fixed
[695] itinerary, and stops for two or three days, according to the size
[681] of the fractions. One night is spent at the zaouia of Sidi Brahim
[792] Ou 'Ali, religious center of the confederation, where a solemn
[782] sacrifice is offered to the saint. Finally, the circuit of justice
ends in the cantons of the north, and on the last day, at the
zaouia of Issouqal, the guilty ones come to pay their fines and
take back the guns they had pledged. The marabouts who played
[431] the role of conciliators or advisors receive gifts, and a sacrifice
[782] is offered to the saint of Issouqal. Then the remaining money is
[652] immediately divided into two halves; one goes to the "imzran,"
the other to the fractions represented by the A'it Arba'in.

One conceives what difficulties are presented for making
order prevail in the small republics incapable of naming moqad-
dem, and which cannot, in order to put an end to the disputes of
rival "ikhs," always threatening, unite with their neighbors to
carry out circuits of justice with large forces. Left to themselves,
they become sources of agitation and private wars, unless a
leader succeeds in imposing his will on the turbulent assembly of
the A'it Arba'in. Among the Ida Ou Tanan such is the fate of the
isolated fractions of the A'it Wanoukrim, A'it Oulma, Iberouten,
in the tribe of the Ifesfasen, which possess neither moqaddem nor
powerful "ajmo'a" capable of having /231/ the decisions of the
notables applied. The inhabitants try to constitute, after a
fashion, by their own means, an "ajmo'a" to which come all the
men under arms; but for lack of a tradition as respected as that
of the A'it Ou'azzoun, the "ajmo'a" often ends in fights.

* 634 A similar example of impotence is given us in the heart of
184 the Masmouda country by the little "taqbilt" of the A'it Tigidar,
in the Asif el Mal, also endowed with a democratic constitution
without moqaddem, amidst neighboring fractions that are more
• [578] pacific and better organized. Discords multiplied to such a point
[361] in this small territory that the village of Assals, political center

* 634 /231 cont./
184 of the "taqbilt," itself gives evidence of the constant anarchy by
• 578 its external aspect; the scattered and isolated houses give it the
361 appearance of a little corner of the Rif.

* 634 VIII. The internal and external wars. -- During the fights
616 that the cantons of the two leffs of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/
701 wage against one another, the small Berbère /Berber/ states do
726 not designate any military leaders. The moqaddem acts as one.
Each "taqbilt" fights in dispersed order, in the inextricable confusion that results from the entanglement of the two alliances. Even in the most serious circumstances, when the independence of the high mountains is threatened by the forces of the Makhzen /makhzan/ or the neighboring kaid, the state of division of the country does not generally allow designating a single leader in this region. The Ida Ou Tanan themselves, whose constitution [648] is so strong and so respected, summoned by Moulay el Hasan in 1888 to show their submission by the sending of presents, knew very well how to come to an arrangement, in spite of the efforts of their notables or their amghars, to refuse that homage to the sovereign; but the mass of the warriors who had decided to reject the authority of the Makhzen could oppose to the Sultan's harkas only efforts that were poorly contrived and dedicated in advance to failure. In the same way, at the time of the conquest of the Aghbar by the kaid of Tagontaft, the four fractions of the high valley, habitually divided, united for an instant and imposed silence on the leff disputes that put them in opposition; but no leader appeared capable of directing a resistance, which was nevertheless heroic and obstinate (1).

1. Cf. Revue des Études Islamiques, 1927,
p. 231; Hespéris, 1927, p. 24.

* 634 /232/ In the cantons remaining faithful to the regime of
701 assemblies and moqaddems, it seems that the greatest perils cannot give rise to a man of war capable of saving them from danger.
726 So, most often, the independent tribes close themselves up in a
* 634
648

/232 cont./

* 634 passive resistance and only try to avoid any direct relation with
648 the representatives of the central power. On their side, the kaid
[651] generally content themselves with claiming the traditional
[431] she-mule each year, the sending of which is equivalent to theo-
retical recognition of their power, and fear to venture in force
into the region of the summits (1).

1. The "taqbilt" of the right tributaries of the Asif Nefis were still designated up to the middle of the nineteenth century in the fractioning of the Makhzen by the name of "Aserdoun," or he-mule, because their contribution was limited to a he-mule offered to the kaid as hédia /gift/ on the occasion of the great festivals.

* 634 Most often the gravest peril that threatens the life of the
• 578 small independent republics of the Haut-Atlas and the Anti-Atlas
726 is not conquest by the Makhzen /makhzan/, but internal discord
628 and the development of private wars that have as a consequence
the formation of sofs. Of all the montagnards, the Seksawa are
the ones most inclined to discord. "They have," it is said, "in
their hearts what is in the heart of the jackal, they dream only of
devouring each other" (2).

2. F. de La Chapelle (Notices inédites sur les tribus dissidentes du commandement des Mtougga /Unpublished notes on the dissident tribes of the Mtougga command/).

Nevertheless private war does not attain in this region the importance that it assumes in the Rif and in Kabylie /Kabylia/. When it is prolonged, the defeated village sometimes disappears and leaves no more than a heap of ruins; but, on the whole, the social life is not altered and internal anarchy is not seen to develop as in the north of Morocco. Apparently the causes of discord are often

/232 cont./

*634 most trifling: a discussion turns sour, one passes on to insults,
 578 then to blows. The people of the village take sides, shots burst
 726 forth, and each one goes back into his house to prepare for war.
 628 But, before opening hostilities, the principal notables hasten to
 [571] form, thanks to family alliances or a price in money, a powerful
 party capable of assuring them success. The two soffs fight
 sometimes for weeks, until an arrangement, which often takes
 into account the unequal number of victims on each side and the
 blood price claimed by the families, intervenes to re-establish
 peace.

/233/ Alliance pacts established by means of the exchange
 of clothes or "belgha" are not in use among the sedentary peoples
 of the South of Morocco. They are satisfied to look for allies by
 [571] making them an "car" /putting them in the relationship of pro-
 [782] tector/ by means of a sacrifice offered on the threshold of their
 house.

*634 The causes, insignificant in appearance, of the war of the
 578 soffs most often mask the rivalries of the notables who fight over
 571 power. The quarrel of the villages is for them only a pretext for
 726 measuring their strength. Nevertheless, since this struggle im-
 628 perils the unity and the strength of the State, the other heads of
 families often intervene as mediators, in order, they say, that the
 trile will not be weakened (1).

1. Compare Sitte und Recht /Custom and
 Law/, Todgha, p. 149.

*634 In the Haut-Atlas, as well as in Kabylie /Kabyliya/ (2),
 578

2. Hanoteau and Letourneux, La Kabylie
 /Kabyliya/, Vol. II, p. 64.

[171] the surest means of restoring order in a capton divided against it-
 self is to revive ancient hatreds against the neighboring republics
 and to find again an occasion to appeal to the brotherhood of the
 leffs. Here again the causes of the war are trifling: insults

/233 cont./

*634 addressed to women who are picking up wood at the boundaries
 •578 of the country, pasture dispute, theft in a souk /sook/, suffice
 726 to revive the memory of ancient discords and to draw up, for
 628 several years, the "Indghertit" against the "Imisfern," the "Alt
 Atman" against the "Alt Iraten." Besides, the combats are not
 murderous. The warriors betake themselves to a place conse-
 crated by tradition for the settling of disputes, and they exchange
 shots indefinitely. It is exceptional that a powerful alliance
 *634 would succeed in suddenly defeating an enemy republic; in that
 578 case, a village is destroyed, but the women and children are al-
 628 ways spared. When success crowns the efforts of the assailants,
 727 everyone rushes to the pillage. The love of booty was enough,
 [181] at the time of the Almohades, to carry along all the tribes of the
 Haut-Atlas to the conquest of Morocco; to see this passion of the
 Berbère /Berber/ for pillage being exercised, one understands the
 violence of the efforts that he can supply to satisfy it, and the
 advantage that a clever chief can draw from it.

*634 IX. The festivities and the dances. -- Ceaselessly led to
 571 react against the internal divisions by calling on the bonds of
 578 brotherhood, /234/ the families associated to form an independ-
 182 ent "raqbilt" try in all circumstances, doubtless unknown to
 796 them, to recreate unity by means of collective ceremonies:
 "tinoubga," dances, religious and traditional festivities, annual
 mousem. The social utility of these rejoicings appears all the
 more as one penetrates further into the social life of these small
 groups perpetually threatened with scission, and one understands
 that attendance at these festivities often takes on an obligatory
 and ritualistic character (1).

1. In certain fractions the notables hold the
 list of the girls who dance and can be sum-
 moned at the time of tribal festivities.

621 Within the "mouda", each festival of the year, "Ald es Seghir,"
 632 "Ald el Kebir," "Achoura," as well as marriages or
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/249 cont. /

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montagnards as a fair fee to the guardians of the col (2).

2. "The Irohalen of the Demsira claim," says F. de La Chapelle (Notices inédites sur les tribus dissidentes du commandement des Mtougga /Unpublished Notes on the Dissident Tribes of the Mtougga Command/), "that the Tizi Macho and the Oussoud are wholly theirs since they pay for the thefts that are committed there." Likewise, the Aît Tigouga of the tribe of the Aît Semmeg, to the south of the Tizi n Test, bought from the neighboring fractions their guard rights over the col and drew up deeds of individual ownership having as their object the right to collect the "zettata." Cf. our article "l'Aghbar et les hautes vallées du Grand-Atlas /The Aghbar and the High Valleys of the Great Atlas/, " Hespéris, 1927, 1st quarter, p. 7.

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IV. The markets and the fairs. -- The regulation of the markets is of special importance in Berbère /Berber/ country.

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The montagnard does not betake himself to the "souq" /sook/ solely in order to buy or sell, he also goes there often to meet his friends again, to settle disputes about land or pasture, or still more simply in order to learn the news of the day.

Two kinds of markets exist. Some are held in the /250/ territory of a mountain canton or at the boundary of two or three "taqbilt"; a few dry-stone shelters forming shops (tahanout, plur. tihouna) suffice to shelter the merchants and delimit a small plaza where about a hundred persons at the most group themselves once a week. These then are the notables of the place, who, without collecting any fees, are charged with guaranteeing policing and security.

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Other more important souqs exist on the major routes of passage, such as the "Jema'a" of the Aît Daoud among the Ida ou

/256 cont./

343 develops and grows. Not only do the notables regulate the utili-
571 zation of the agadir, from which it is forbidden to take out more
554 than the "double of what is necessary as current provisions," but
they further mean to watch over the transactions made outside.

The "ommal" come to constitute a small privileged group that
exploits all the users to its advantage. Doubtless in their meet-
• [578] ings they sometimes insult one another and mutually accuse one
another "of devouring the property of the widow and orphan, or
343 practicing injustice." But if such accusations are hurled against
571 them by a man of the tribe, the whole council decides to inflict
554 a heavy fine on the audacious one, even if his claim has some
683 foundation, for the "ommal" must be united under all circum-
stances, and their discords should not become manifest to the
common people. "They are men of confidence," says one of
these codes, "the agadir belongs to them, and because of that
fact they must justify before God the confidence that is put in
them by the people for the administration of their property." As
for the ones who dare to say: "All the principles that you use for
judging are not agreeable to me; I shall go to get justice in an
agadir other than yours," or "you have done nothing good in this
fortress, if it is not /257/ to oppress people to the detriment of
right," they are condemned to high penalties and the lodging of
the masters of the fortress. Likewise all those who derisively give
to the "ommal" the title of Sultan or of chief -- hakem -- or
call them "son of a donkey" or "liars" are also condemned to pay
large fines.

343 In the course of their tumultuous deliberations, the "ommal,"
571 having become veritable chiefs of the fraction, take care to re-
554 main united and to make positive decisions; in fact, it is indis-
pensable that all deliberation end in agreement, since the ma-
terial life of the users depends each day on the administration of
the storehouse. Before so pressing a necessity, the ingenuity of
the "ommal" makes them discover the rule of the majority, al-
most unknown in the Berbère /Berber/ republics: "In all circum-
stances," we read, "the 'ommal, when they have made a deci-
sion by a two-thirds majority, cannot see their authority contested."

/269 cont./

642 appearance of personal power; a family in a high valley succeeds
 * 634 in consolidating the /270/ precarious organization that has
 178 created, to its advantage, a successful leader; one then sees for
 two or three generations the activity of the councils of "inlas"
 weaken or disappear and the struggle of the rival "ikhs" stop;
 the social life itself changes, and the distance between the rich
 and the poor, the strong and the humble, increases rapidly. A
 little apart from this village, where all lived in apparent equality
 not long ago, the fortified house of the amghar and his brothers
 soon rises. Finally the external policy of the little state is also
 transformed and becomes more bellicose. The combative ardor
 • [578] of the opposed "ikhs," without employment within, finds in the
 [613] leff quarrels the means of spending the surplus forces of the
 [616] "taqbilt."

• If general causes exert themselves at a distance to facilitate
 [669] the development of despotic power, rising spontaneously in a
 canton, several small revolutions break out at the same time in
 various parts of the mountains. One soon sees a new regime of
 government established, which by degrees prevails. Such is the
 [175] spectacle that was presented by the western Haut-Atlas /High
 Atlas/ twice in the last 50 years: first of all, in the middle of
 the nineteenth century, in the regions now subject to the great
 kaid, during the period that preceded and facilitated their
 domination; then, at the beginning of the twentieth century, in
 the parts of the mountains remaining free, when the political
 pressure of the masters of the casbahs of Bouaboud, Tagontaft,
 and Telwet on the republics of the high valleys was accentuated.

121 Having reached this point in our investigation, we must try
 * 634 to see clearly the conditions under which the authority of the
 178 amghars rises and develops, and what institutions -- precarious,
 without doubt, and imperfect like their power itself -- they
 substitute for the ones of the small republics that they have
 destroyed.

121 This research does not proceed without presenting numerous
 * 634 difficulties. In order to carry it out, at the risk of losing the way
 669 in the thousand details of Berbère /Berber/ life, and without fear

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[669] of tiring the reader's patience. It is necessary to draw his attention often to the little revolutions taking place in obscure cantons, to observe their local consequences, and to compare them with one another. Indeed, without taking hold of precise examples, one cannot come to understand the essential aspects of this eminently unstable and ephemeral form of transition between the government of the assemblies and /271/ the one of the kaid's. On the other hand, the history of the last three generations is rich enough in the Atlas of the Masmouda to offer us a choice among a large number of amghars -- about 40 -- whose similar origins and the identical mode of growth indicate rather well that they appear and develop while obeying the same rules. It will suffice for us, in order to show what these conditions for the rise of personal power are, to choose and study here the clearest and simplest examples.

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[571] II. The struggle of the soffs and the appearance of the amghar. -- The private wars, which so often trouble the life of the independent republics, above all have as their cause, as we have seen, the existence of several rival "ikhs" always ready to appeal to force as soon as their interests appear to them to be threatened. Each "taqbilt" always possesses, in fact, among the ten or fifteen families that form it, two or three stronger, richer, and more warlike groups, to whom the others come to seek support. These are soffs naturally constituted and which exist at least potentially.

The heads of these most important families of the canton conduct as they like the deliberations of the council, in the bosom of which the equality of the "Alt Arba'in" is purely specious. The temptation is great for the influential members of the little senate to entrust the office of moqaddem to a candidate who defends their interests exclusively; a struggle frequently breaks out in the course of this nomination, and in the melee an ambitious man triumphs with the support of the strongest "ikhs." He often gets to exercise the magistrature for several years and

/271 cont./

*634 soon abandons the title of moqaddem in order to take the one of
•578 amghar (1).
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1. "Amghar," pl. "imgharen." Verbal noun originating from the root Mghr, to be great by stature, age, social position (de Foucauld, Dictionnaire touareg-fr. /Tuareg-French Dictionary/, II, p. 164).

The Arab word "chikh" /sheik/ translates very precisely the Berbère /Berber/ word "amghar." In certain regions of the western Atlas (Mzouda, for example) the notables are designated by the name of "Inmoghorn," derived from the same root.

*634 We have mentioned the existence of the acts drawn up at the
671 time of the nomination of the moqaddem, which for one year fix
681 the scale for the settlement of some offenses whose repression is left to the free disposition of the president of the assembly. Written in very bad Arabic, these documents are nevertheless interesting to examine, because /272/ they clearly indicate to us the respective position of the president of the council of notables, of the inflas, and of the tribe, at the moment when the amghar makes his appearance.

[592] When tradition is respected and a moqaddem chosen according to the customary rules, we see figuring in the act, which is like the "lender's decree" of the minor Berbère /Berber/ magistrate, the names of all the family heads in the "taqbilt." To the number of 12 or 15, they were witnessing by their presence the general consent given by the canton to the new scale of fines. The customary rule is to divide the sums paid by the guilty ones
[652] into three equal parts by application of this convention: one third goes to the moqaddem, one third to the "taqbilt" in the person of its inflas, one third to the common treasury, which provides for the expenses of hospitality and for collective expenditures.

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Now it sometimes happens that on the scales of settlement thus established there are substituted for the names of all the notables of the fraction those of three or four important person-ages, who give their approbation in the name of all. At the same time, the primitive rule of distribution of the fines is perverted. One third is apportioned to the moqaddem, one third to these influential men, who give themselves the title of "ayan" (1).

1. Arabic "ayan," notables.

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[652] one third to the "taqbilt," represented by effaced and starving inflas. With the same stroke the common treasury disappears.

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A decisive step is taken when we see the traditional name of "moqaddem" disappear in the acts to make way for that of a personage henceforth called "the respected amghar So-and-So." Near the name of the amghar are found only those of the notables, the "ayan." An additional clause stipulates that the new master of the canton will collect, in addition to a third of the fines, a third of the "achour, the Koranic tax that the Berbère /Berber/ republics paid up to then wholly to religious personages or to the poor. Often, even, a measure of barley per household was granted for the benefit of the amghar. Personal power is henceforth established.

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These beginnings did not exist without requiring long and patient efforts of the new chief. Before taking authority, the amghar has arranged for himself the support of the heads of the most important "ikhs," and by /273/ clever intrigues he has succeeded in setting aside those who were hostile to him or making them disappear. But almost always this internal revolution does not take place without combat. Another notable, equally rich and courageous, opposes the ambitious amghar with all his forces, with his "ikhs"; war breaks out and is waged furiously until the defeated one is killed or banished with all his people; his village falls into ruins and the victorious chief re-tains power as long as he has the strength to do it and escapes the

726 /273 cont./

*634 vengeance of the exiles. Sometimes in the course of these combats the "taqbilt" is seen to split into two groups, each having
661 its chief, who, with arms in hand, dispute the possession of the
578 limitrophe households. The marabouts and the moqaddems of
613 the friendly leff usually intervene in these circumstances, in
[616] order to re-establish unity somehow or other.
[792]

*634 Woe to the amghar who establishes his power without first of
661 all having had his authority recognized by everyone, if need be
[682] by traitorously assassinating his rivals! His career is indeed
175 quickly stopped by the return to fortune of an enemy from the
*634 first hours. This is what happened to a minor amghar of the Sek-
578 sawa in the middle of the last century, Hammo Ou Bella of the
661 canton of the A'tt Lahsen /sic/, father of Si Mokhtar Seksawi, the
726 very one who was later to subjugate part of the mountains, fight
victoriously against the Mtouggi, and become the greatest chief
of his tribe. Hammo Ou Bella, moqaddem of Awines, had suc-
ceeded in imposing himself upon the notables of his "taqbilt."

[616] In order to consolidate his power and have unity around him, he
threw himself, with the leff of the "Imisfern," into the conquest
of two fractions of the adverse leff, the A'tt Mousa and the Sekrat,
these two little groups that his son, after meticulous preparation,
was to annex long years later without striking a blow. But in the
course of these enterprises his own "taqbilt" abandoned him,
following the intrigues of a rival "ikhs" head, El Hajj 'Ali
Hammo, whom he had neglected to get rid of; Hammo Ou Bella
perished, abandoned by his brothers, under the blows of the war-
riors of the defeated fractions.

175 Si Mokhtar, son of the Moqaddem Hammo Ou Bella, retained
*634 the lesson; when he in his turn had taken power and experienced
613 all the difficulties that the presence of hostile "ikhs" can cause a
682 new amghar, he took advantage of a happy return to fortune to
578 invite all his enemies to a magnificent festival to celebrate the
/274/ reconciliation of the parties; then at night, while the
noise of the songs and dances was filling the valley, he discreetly
175 had all his enemies assassinated. The continuation of his policy
*634 was thus simplified, and this fortunate beginning opened up to

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175 neighboring "taqbilt" of the Dir had amghars. Ahmed Ou Bihi
159 among the AIt 'Abdallah, Mbarek Chtittihi among the AIt Mousa.
* 634 Not long after the time when Si Mokhtar, son of the moqaddem
Hammo ou Bella, had taken power among the AIt Lhasen, after
having cleverly suppressed his enemies, as we have said, the son
of a moqaddem of the Idma, Hafid Ou Mohammed n Anino, also
obtained from the AIt Arba'in of his fraction, thanks to his adroit-
ness, his prestige, and his victories over the nearby fraction of
the Intedan, the title of amghar (1898). As is natural, he had to
wage a long struggle against his rivals in his own village, then he
killed them and took their property.

• (578)
(682) Favorable circumstances then presented themselves to the
175 new chief of the Idma, who knew how to utilize them fully.
159 About 1905 the struggle of the two great kaids Mtouggi and
* 631 Gontafi for influence was at its height; they were contending for
* 634 the rich tribes of the Dir and soon the whole mountain was caught
616 up in their intrigues. Si Mokhtar of the AIt Lhasen, of the leff of
726 the "Imsifern," already highly organized in his command,
espoused, not without some reticence, the cause of the Mtouggi;
the two amghars Ahmed Ou Bihi and Mbarek Chtittihi, neighbors
from the foot of the mountain, of the leff of the "Indghertit,"
wavered about the side to take, while the amghar Hafid of the
Idma rallied without hesitation to the Gontafi. After a confused
struggle, during which Si Mokhtar had /map appears here/ /279/
the Chtittihi assassinated and defeated the fraction of the AIt
'Abdallah upon driving away Ahmed Ou Bihi, the amghar of the
Idma became sole chief of the leff of the "Indghertit." In the
mountains, the struggle of the two great kaids was being carried
on by utilizing the rivalry of the two Berbère /Berber/ alliances.
Si Mokhtar was the champion of Bouaboud with the "Imsifern" to
the extent that his personal interest commanded it. For his part,
Hafid easily assembled the forces of the "Indghertit." It was to
him that the amghars of the AIt Ga'ir and all the high-mountain
fractions of the Seksawa came to ask for counsel and support.
For twenty years the old amghar of the Idma could profit from
the advantages of this role of leff chief; without losing any of his

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 371]

/288 cont./

*634 from any disturbing influence of the Makhzen /makhzan/ or of the great kaid (1).

1. Cf. our study on the Ida Ou Tanan, Revue des Études islamiques, 1927, pp. 223-247.

*634 /289/ Although they preserved their liberty with regard to
619 the Sultan and kept the laws of their confederation, which tradi-
[648] tion attributes to Sidi Brahim ou 'Ali, the three tribes of the Ida
ou Tanan nevertheless lived, as we have said, under different
political regimes. The Alt Ou 'Azzoun, directed in our day by
*634 their notables of cantons or their council of family heads, in the
619 middle of the nineteenth century obeyed the amghar Akherraz,
178 who dominated the northern part of the country; the Ifesfasen still
have an amghar at Tassedremt, who shares the authority with the
Alt arba'in; finally, the Alt Tinkert fell little by little under the
domination of the minor amghars allied with one another, and
in our time they have submitted to a single chief, Si Lhasen, son
of the amghar Mohammed Bou Naga. The appearance or the
effacement of these minor chiefs did not result from an external
influence; so the study of their power is particularly instructive.

*634 We first of all see develop by the natural working of the
619 institutions, when the tribe lives under the republican regime,
a whole hierarchy of minor notables: the heads of the patriarchal
families; then more important personages who form a kind of
senate of each "afous," or canton; finally, the "imzran," to
whom the affairs of the tribe are entrusted. Thus personal am-
*634 bitions multiply; the chances of internal conflicts increase.
619 When discord breaks out, each one calls on his brothers. By
• 578 courage or by ruse, "ikhs" chiefs or band chiefs grow in impor-
[613] tance, impose themselves upon their neighbors, and speak louder
and louder in the councils of the "imzran." Here, as elsewhere,
one day they come to confiscate to their advantage the power of
an assembly, which meets only in their house, and whose opinions
[554] from then on retain only a consultative value. It is at this time
that they are greeted with the title of "amghar."

/289 cont./

*634 This "amghar" has only a house similar to that of the other
613 notables, scarcely decorated with two whitewashed borjs. All
682 his strength is in that of his "brothers," members of his "ikhs" or
[697] of his village. They help him make his enemies disappear, for,
like the amghar of the high valleys of the Seksawa, the one of
the Ida Ou Tanan does not have a prison for keeping them near
him. Therefore he kills his adversaries in ambushes, or some-
times, like the amghar Akherraz of the Alt Ou Azzoun, he
seizes them, ties their feet and hands, and has them /290/ hurled
into the void from the edge of the mountains, whose abrupt cut
dominates the country. At the same time that he asserts his
*634 domination, his "ikhs" increases ceaselessly, and at present we
613 see the one of the amghars of the Alt Tinkert, the Alt Ouazghi,
form by its importance and wealth a véritable "afous" or canton,
thanks to the fortune acquired by its chiefs for a century.

*634 Here there is no leff that can serve the amghar's ambitions.
616 But throughout Berbère /Berber/ country there are discords of
• [578] cantons and of families that one can fan in order to draw ad-
vantages from it. With the money raised by "frida" or gained
from pillage, the new chief's party is recruited by the chance of
circumstances or of local rivalries. The amghar constitutes his
leff himself, crushes the defeated, tames the hostile notables,
and, according to the strong Berbère /Berber/ expression: "he
mounts them," as one mounts horses or mules, he makes them
work for his gain. When he has become strong enough for people
to seek his protection internally and his alliance externally, his
fortune is made. His authority is recognized by all; he modifies
at his pleasure the scales of fines, imposes sanctions as he pleases,
without consulting custom. One sees assassins and thieves,
threatened by the inflas of the neighboring "afous," come to beg
for his support, to offer sacrifices at his door, and to obtain a
stop to the pursuits, for the payment of a fine, which unmis-
takeably resembles a gift and which enlarges his war chest.

It seems that in this region the absence of stable and bal-
anced leffs that form an already prepared war organization
obliges the chief who wants to assert himself to intervene more

S
* 631 /293/ Finally, the rights of suzerainty that the sedentary or
423 nomadic tribes acquired over the qsars /fortified places/ harassed
571 by plunderers come to create other obligations and causes of
• 578 conflict. These circumstances are favorable for the establish-
ment of a strong power dominating the anarchic dust of the
families. Their study goes beyond the limits of our work, but
[121] their existence suffices to explain the difference that the organi-
zation and political evolution of the Berbère /Berber/ tribes near
the Sahara and those of the sedentary ones of the Atlas or Anti-
Atlas may present.

R
634 XII. The amghars of the Rif. -- At first sight, one might
631 expect to find in the mountainous regions of the north of Mo-
171 rocco, among the Jbala and in the Rif, a development of per-
sonal power comparable to the one that we have observed in the
Sous. In reality, here, as there, the action that the Makhzen
/makhzan/ carried out on the tribes in the nineteenth century
remained distant and did not venture to come to break up the
efforts of the minor chiefs in their beginnings. Pashas established
in the towns at Fès /Fez/, Wezzan, Larache, Taza governed at a
great distance through the agency of caliphates named in the
mountains, and since the authority of the latter was weak, the
Berbère /Berber/ or Arab populations lived in a situation very
close to independence. Moreover, the village and canton re-
publican institutions, the size of the small autonomous states,
the division into leffs created, it seems, circumstances favorable
for the appearance of personal power, analogous to the ones that
we found in the Atlas of the Masmouda.

R
634 Nevertheless, contrary influences were to make themselves
631 felt to limit narrowly the chiefs' authority. We have mentioned
614 the importance of the private wars in the western Rif that some-
578 times led to the disappearance of entire villages in a few years.
The repetition of these struggles for long centuries ended in the
consolidation of veritable clans, patriarchal and agnatic families
augmented by clients and allies, whose persistence becomes
necessary to the very life of the individual. The khoms is thus
made up of a certain number of clans, "tarfiqt," all independent
of one another, ready to separate at the least pretext. Old

/303 cont./

storehouse, which is still to be seen: the agadir n Waddar. They are inspired in their plans by the customary arrangement of the "igherm," or collective storehouses, of their country. Finally, in the middle of the fields of the "Alt Atman" of Talat n Yaquob, left free by the exodus of the conquered, at the entrance to the Tinmel plain, another casbah begins to rise from the ground, less warlike than that of Tagontaft, which later will be the favorite residence of Si Tayeb Gontafi.

After this success, prudence counsels the amghar Mohammed not to stir up war again in the fractions of the Nefis and not to risk thus provoking a new expedition of the Makhzen /makhzan/. Therefore he goes to try to expand preferably toward the south among the Alt Semmeg, whose passes he holds, and in the Onein. Here, however, a serious difficulty presents itself. The "Alt Iraten," who in the Nefis form the left of the Gontafi, are the traditional allies of the "Ida ou Zeddagh" of the south versant of the Atlas (1).

1. Cf. above, p. 239.

Now this left obeys above all the amghars of the Bazzi family of the Talekjont, who for several years already have been in the service of the Mtougga kaid of Bouaboud. Moreover, the Bazzi have only a very limited authority and are incapable of guiding the politics of the mountain republics. Perhaps it would be cleverer to obtain the co-operation of the adverse left of the "Alt Zolit." Undoubtedly in the course of the war of the Nefis wadi these last have already come to support the amghar Achefar of Tagemout against Tagontaft; but the amghar Mohammed, made rich by his conquests, can easily find allies everywhere. He is known to be as liberal and generous as he is ardent in combat. Soon the amghar Hajj Mbarek of the Onein brings all his co-operation to the amghar of /304/ Tagontaft in exchange for suitable remuneration. At the same time, the Gontafi is backing the amghar Hijjo, a brave woman who has taken command among the Alt Oumzal in order to protect her infant sons. He also acquires

195 /304 cont./

159 the support of the amghars of Taberbourt of the Alt Semmeg and
of those of Talemt, enemies of the Bazzi of Talekfont.

*634 The left of the "Alt Zolli," having thus entered with its
•578 chiefs into the service of the amghar Mohammed n Alt Lhasen by
616 the overturning of the ancient alliances, became from then on
the enemy of the mountain "Alt Atman." When the amghar

[727] Achefar of Tagemout, driven from his country by the master of
Tagontast, came to take refuge on the territory of the "Alt Zolli,"
the amghar Mbarek of the Onein betrayed him and plundered him.
The refugee then fled to the Alt Oumzal, in the fraction of the
amghar Hijjo, but he was poisoned there. Up to our day all the
fractions thus rallied were to remain faithful to the Gontafi.

195 One last event was going to increase further the power of the
159 chief of the Nefis and make of him the uncontested master of the
*634 mountains until the day when the Makhzen /makhzan/ would
648 consent to recognize his strength officially by giving him the title
*631 of kaid.
726

The death of Brahim el Grawi, pasha of the casbah at Marra-
kech, which took place at the same time as that of the Sultan,
Sidi Mohammed, drowned in the basin of the Agdal (1874), had
just put an end to the truce that had permitted the amghar Mo-
hammed to conquer the asif Nefis by force or politics. Ahmed ou
Malek, new pasha of the casbah, had refused to ignore the
Gontafi's rebel status any longer, because, they say, he was find-
ing the presents sent to him insufficient. 'Ali Ben Lhasen of
Agergour, kaid of the Ouzgita, found the moment favorable for
obtaining a new expedition against his rebel sheik. He cleverly
had spread in the land the rumor that the amghar Mohammed
wanted to make himself independent, as the Almohades had been
in the same places, and this memory was enough to make Marra-
kech tremble again. This time important contingents were
assembled; a kaid of the "gich" /gish/, 'Abdallah Tamachot,
who represented the Makhzen /makhzan/, went back up the Nefis,
accompanied by the Ouzgita and tribes of the plain and of the
Dir of Marrakech: the Oulad Dlim, the Ida Ou Blal, the
Gheghaia, the Souktana. At the same time the kaid Cherradi

/307 cont./

175 benefactor. He conquers two villages of his "taqbilt" and even
159 builds a house in one of them. But his adversaries use against
*634 him means that he does not hesitate to use himself. One day, he
726 fortunately escapes death in the explosion of an enormous charge
of powder deposited under the upper chamber of the house /308/
where he is to be found with his family. This attempt is the
work of a notable of the country, secretly allied with the
Chrittihi and bribed by the Mtouggi.

175 Si Mokhtar constitutes for himself from then on a dependable
159 guard furnished by families allied to his; to avoid ambushes, he
*634 moves around ceaselessly, without ever saying where he is going. In
[625] his casbah of Bou Taradin, he inspects the sentinels at all hours. He
[602] changes his living habits ceaselessly, and his wives themselves do
not know in advance in which of his houses he will come to sleep.
He no longer lives anywhere but on the second floor, and the
lower room is filled with stone and earth and closed with a pad-
lock (1).

1. F. de La Chapelle, Hespéris, 1928,
3rd-4th quarter.

175 Amidst this feverish life dominated by fear of betrayal, the
159 amghar keeps an unappeased ambition nonetheless. Thanks to the
*634 incessant dissensions in the left of the "Indghertit" of the asif of
616 the Seksawa, Si Mokhtar intervenes more and more as arbitrator,
598 relying on the "Imsifern," who are loyal to him. The troubled
circumstances in the mountains favor his projects. The political
situation becomes very complicated in the Atlas at this time, be-
cause of the struggle of the kaid Mtouggi against Si Tayeb
Gontafi, who has conquered the valleys of the Ogdemt. of the
Aghbar, and of the Asif el Mal (1904). During the rivalry of the
two great kaids, who are trying to get support in the high moun-
tains among the independent fractions, the lefts are sometimes
broken up. But most often the chief of Tagontafi relies on the
"Indghertit," while the Mtouggi prefers to seek the co-operation
of the "Imsifern." Thus the Chittitih becomes the ally of the
Gontafi. Si Mokhtar that of the Mtouggi.

/308 cont./

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In 1907, when the Gontafi's party succumbs before the coalition of the Mtougga and the Glawa, the struggle becomes more intense. Each of the two amghars tries to have his rival assassinated. The Chtittihi sends one of his friends, Mohammed ou Hammo, to Si Mokhtar's, giving him the mission of killing him by treachery; but the amghar of the Aft Lhasen succeeds in seducing the emissary, and in the night, when the Chtittihi approaches to hear the news of the murder of his enemy, it is he himself who falls under the dagger of Mohammed ou Hammo. For this master stroke the assassin is loaded with favors, and later he will receive the granddaughter of Si Mokhtar in marriage. The drama has hardly been performed /map appears here/ /309/ when the Aft Mousa are attacked; their territory is conquered; the Chtittihi's villages are razed, and in the middle of his adversary's fields the conquering amghar erects a command-house, which makes his victory definitive.

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Si Mokhtar's ambition is not yet satisfied. In 1908, when the amghar of the Aft Abdallah, Ahmed ou Bihi, betrays the cause of the Mtouggi at one time, Si Mokhtar invades his territory and annexes it to his possessions. But at that moment the successes of Si Mokhtar, the cleverness of his policy, the influence he has won over the montagnards of the Seksawa, make him suspect to the kaid of Bouaboud. It is then that the amghar parts company with the great chiefs, from whom he has nothing more to expect. He goes to regain his full liberty, to renew alliances in the leff of the "Imsifern," which he has sometimes had to neglect in the preceding years. At the end of his life, Si Mokhtar succeeds both in fomenting among the Aft Wadouz, of his leff, revolt against Bouaboud and in protecting the dissident "Imsifern" from the Demsira. Some months before his death he finally takes over the nearby fraction of the Igountar, whom he annexes to his command, detaching them from the leff of the "Indghertit."

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By the organization of his command, Si Mokhtar Seksawi, who remained independent in his casbah of Bou Taradin to the end of his life, took on the air of a true kaid, for which he

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 409]

/317 cont./

*631 of Tazenakht, has completely disappeared since the masters of
 *634 Telwet reduced the whole confederation of the Ait Waouzgit to
 175 servitude; but we know at least that the last of these amghars
 616 exercised their command in the manner of their Tazenakht
 [178] neighbors; two brothers united to deal with the affairs that in-
 terested the two leffs; each side could thus find an advocate de-
 voted to its interests in the very family of the amghars, and the
 decision made afterward in common by the two brothers thus per-
 mitted, under the best possible conditions, conciliating the
 opposing interests."

*631 The common custom in the Sous and in the Atlas of thus
 *634 sharing the command between two brothers or two cousins ap-
 593 pears to us to be explained most often by the desire of the chiefs
 605 to keep a fair balance between the leffs or the hostile soffs within
 182 their tribes. Such a practice is possible only for chiefs who have
 616 succeeded in dominating and conciliating internal rivalries (1).

• [578] 1. Perhaps one should also see there an Arab
 influence explicable among the tribes adjacent
 to the Sahara. The government of a tribe en-
 trusted to two brothers and, as a consequence,
 later to two branches of the same family at
 once is in the tradition of the desert. Cf. G.
 Marçais, Les Arabes en Berbérie /The Arabs in
 Barbary/, p. 704.

*634 VI. The tribal chief rises above the leffs. -- All these ex-
 amples chosen in the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and the
 country of the Sirwa enable us to understand clearly how the
 amghar, chief of a canton, manages the conquest of a tribe.

As long as the Berbère /Berber/ chief remains the champion
 of a leff, his power is based on the existence of social forces in-
 dependent of his will and which he directs only imperfectly. The
 resources that he can draw from war are moreover limited, for he
 * [631] must give his allies their share of the booty. Consequently, when
 [648] he has not gone beyond that lower degree of authority, he often

/329 cont./

175
* 631 In the reign of Moulay 'Abd er Rahman, the amghar Ahmed
* 634 el Mezwar had exercised the functions of sheik at Telwet under
the same conditions as Si Ahmed n Ait Lhasen, the fqih of Tagon-
taft on the Nefis. His family was perhaps related to that of the
Imzwarn, who had given powerful chiefs to the region of the Dra
in the sixteenth century; but the memory of those great lords,
who formerly sent missions to Fez in the time of Léon l'Africain
/Leo Africanus/ and contested the alliance with the Portuguese
of Agadir, was completely lost (1).

[113]

[193]

1. On the Mezwar of the Dra, cf. above,
p. 115.

The chiefs of Telwet regard themselves
as the descendants of Abou Mohammed Salah,
patron saint of Safi, personage of Berbère
/Berber/ origin from the tribe of the Doukkala,
fraction of the Beni Mager, died about 1233
(cf. Michaux-Bellaire, Les Confréries re-
ligieuses au Maroc /The Religious Brotherhoods
in Morocco/, pp. 44-45, and G.-S. Colin,
"Maqsad," Archives marocaines, Vol. XXVI,
p. 92).

195
* 631 The sheik of Telwet was then only a marabout, living off the
* 634 "ziara" and modestly working a salt mine. Driven from his can-
159 ton after a soff quarrel, he took refuge in the nearby valley of
• 578 Ouneila. In this exile there was born to him a son, Mohammed,
who had a difficult youth and, like his father, carried on the salt
trade. But having reached the age of manhood, Mohammed took
back, with the aid of some families of the Ounella, the authority
that his father had formerly had. He succeeded in defeating a
rival /330/ in his tribe, the amghar Ahmed ben Hajj Mohammed
[616] of Taghennoust, and extended his influence over three Glawa
"khoms" belonging to his left of the "Inemzel," which is also
called, on the north versant of the Atlas, the left of the "Alt
Fademt." The favor of the Makhzen /makhzan/ of Marrakech

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The favor of the

175 /330 cont./ Makhzen /Makhzan/ of Marrakech
 * 631 soon earned for the amghar Mohammed the command of the
 * 634 whole tribe (1858), previously placed under the control of an
 159 Arab kaid of the plain, El Hachmi Ez Zemrani; later, in 1864,
 [648] when the kaid Azerwal Er Rehamani, another Arab leader,
 charged with collecting taxes south of the Atlas in the name of
 the Sultan, had fallen in disgrace, the amghar Mohammed, who
 was surnamed Ibibat, "the little sparrow," immediately became
 his successor. As we have said, it was he who took the leader-
 ship of the contingents of the Aït Waouzgit and Glawa at the time
 of the big harka of Tagontaft in 1875, and we have seen that he
 facilitated the success of his rival of the Nefis instead of attack-
 ing his villages. Although he dominated the tribes of the south
 versant of the Atlas at times, his authority was nevertheless al-
 ways limited by that of the kaids of Demnat, who exerted their
 influence over the country of the Imeghrian and the Dadès; a son
 of Azerwal er Rahamani moreover obtained at intervals the com-
 mand of the Feija, so that at the time of Foucauld's passing
 through, in 1883, the kaid of the Glawa did not stand out from
 the other minor chiefs of the vicinity, and his name ceased to be
 respected as soon as one arrived in the neighborhood of the cas-
 bahs of the Haut-Dra /Upper Dra/ (1).

1. De Foucauld, Reconnaissances, p. 18.

175 During this period, whatever the personal power of the
 159 amghar Ibibat might be in the tribe of the Glawa, his prestige
 * 631 outside thus depends above all on the Sultan's favor, which is
 * 634 divided between him and his rivals of the Marrakech plain.
 616 Moreover, in this part of the Atlas the war of the leffs does not
 • 578 seem to play a role comparable to that of the rivalry of the "Aït
 [648] Atman" and the "Aït Iraten" around Tagontaft and Tinnel. Ac-
 tually, it happens that on the south versant of the Atlas the
 struggle of the two leffs "Inemzel" and "Aït Iraten" is complicated
 by the rivalry of the minor chiefs, among whom the most active
 are those of the Aït Zineb and the Aït Tammast, of the family of
 the Aït ben Haddo of Tamedakht, of the ones of the Warzazat, the

175 /330 cont./

159 Ait ben 'Ali, and especially the hereditary amghars of the Mes-
 *631 gita of Tamenougalt and of Tazenakht of the Ait 'Amer.
 *634 /331/- The tribal politics of the chief of Telwet then is
 616 dominated by his alliance with the notables of the Ouneila, of
 •578 the left of the "Ait Iraten" opposed to the one of his country of
 origin. They help him to maintain himself among the Glawa
 and, in spite of some passing dissensions, give him their
 co-operation in order to dominate the neighboring tribes; up to
 our day we shall see them contribute to the great kaid caliphates,
 chiefs of harkas, and mokhaznis, with which the subject countries
 are exploited, and the care with which they build their comfort-
 able houses in their poor valley shows well enough that the govern-
 ment of the domains of the Glawa procures some profits for these
 intermediaries.

175 In difficult circumstances at the beginning, with a power still
 159 poorly established, an authority that varies according to whether
 *631 the support of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is acquired or withdrawn,
 *634 the amghar Mohammed Ibibat at least succeeds in two lasting
 [712] enterprises: he builds a solid casbah at Telwet, and attaches his
 family, by a lasting alliance, to the minor chiefs of the Warza-
 zat, friends of the Ouneila. The casbah of Taourirt in the district
 of the Warzazat, well placed to command both the passage of the
 Haut-Dra and the Dadès, will serve as base for the military action
 led later against the amghar Mohammed Zanifi of Tazenakht,
 whose power and wealth have been famous in the South since the
 end of Moulay el Hasan's reign (1).

1. De Foucauld, Reconnaissance, pp. 106-107.

When Si el Madani takes over the succession from his father
 about 1886, the conquest of the Feija has not yet begun; rather,
 the young leader tries to fight the tribes of the North and to reach
 the good lands at the foot of the Atlas. But a repulse among the
 [712] Zemiran and doubtless also the fear of putting the Makhzen /makh-
 zan/ on guard stop him in his projects; he contents himself with
 building the casbah of Tazert, which will protect his command

175 /331 cont./
159 toward the North, in the same way that Tagadirt n Bour, in the
*631 Netis, has become for the Gontafi a fortress to stop the Ouzgita
*634 of the Jbel Kik. Nevertheless Si Hammadi, brother of el Madani,
[712] establishes himself at Taourirt of the Warzazat and manages to
eliminate from power the family of the amghars of the Ait ben
'Ali. Thanks to the possession of this important position, the
attention of the kaid of the Glaawa will henceforth be turned to-
ward the south.

175 Indeed, a favorable occasion is not long in presenting itself.
159 /332/ Having left on an expedition to the Tafilelt in 1893,
*631 Moulay el Hasan, wearied, comes back with a large harka by/
*634 way of the valley of the Dadès and the Dir of the Imeghran, after
648 following the great route of the oasis of the Ferkla and the Todgha.
726 Si el Madani has the cleverness to have the last stopping places of
the sherifian army prepared with care and to welcome the old
ruler with such perfect considerateness that his hospitality is noted
and appreciated. During his brief stay at Telwet, Moulay el
[713] Hasan entrusts to the kaid of the Glaawa the mission of collecting
taxes in the Feija and toward the Todgha, a post that his father
had formerly received for several years, and above all leaves him
precious evidence of his confidence, a Krupp cannon, some shells,
and some modern guns. The army of the Makhzen /makhzan/
has scarcely departed before these novelties are tried with success
against the cantons of the enemy leff in the nearby valley of the
Imini. Thus the future looks most favorable, and it suffices for a
"siba" to come to break out in the South of Morocco for the young
kaid of Telwet to rush victoriously into the conquest of the tribes.

175 III. The kaids of the Mtougga before the Moroccan anarchy
*631 (1850-1894). -- The reign of Moulay el Hasan had been less
578 favorable for the rapacious chiefs of the Mtougga in their casbah
of Bouaboud, and the development of their power had often been
stopped by the resistance offered them by the kaids of the vicinity.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, as we have seen, all
their history had been caught up in their rivalry with El Hajj
'Abdallah Ou Bihi, the kaid of the great confederation of the Haha,

/332 cont./

175 established in the Azaghar of the Ait Zeiten. At rare intervals,
 * 631 however, the minor kaid of Bouaboud, Mohammed n Ait Mousa,
 - 578 had obtained the command of the Nfifa and of the Demsira, but
 he had not been able to succeed in having his authority accepted.
 175 Cutting trees, razing villages, he had left only memories of hate
 * 631 in the mountains, and the "siba" had driven him away. During
 726 the revolt of the tribes at the beginning of Sidi Mohammed's
 [669] reign, from 1859 to 1864, El Hajj 'Abdallah Ou Bihi even suc-
 ceeded for a time in expelling his enemies from Bouaboud and
 named among the Mtougga three minor kaid s at his disposal,
 supported by a small "makhzen" of Haha warriors. Finally for-
 tune turned: Bihi Ajerram -- a Mtouggi of the fraction of the
 Ida ou Merzoug, allied with the Haha, great enemy of the kaid s
 of Bouaboud, was assassinated, and /333/ some years afterwards
 'Abdallah Ou Bihi himself perished at Marrakech, poisoned by
 the Sultan (1868). Immediately the Mtougga, who aspired to
 take the place left vacant by the effacement of the Haha, rushed
 toward the Sous and Taroudant. If the kaid el Hajj 'Omar (1)

1. The chiefs of the Mtougga have been suc-
 cessively the kaid Ahmed n Ait S'adoun, El
 Hajj 'Addi, died in prison at Mogador about
 1845, then the three brothers: Mohammed,
 died about 1859, El Hajj 'Omar, died about
 1880, and El Hajj Mesa'oud, died about 1890,
 finally 'Abd el Malek ben Mohammed
 (1886-1927). A younger branch, in a stead-
 fast manner, has held the office of Khalifat
 /caliphate/ of the kaid; thus there have suc-
 ceeded one another: El Cheger Mousa, brother
 of the kaid 'Addi, the moqaddem El Housin,
 son of El Cheger, died in 1892, and his sons,
 Si Bou Selham and Si Mohammed.

of Bouaboud, who had succeeded the kaid Mohammed, suffered
 serious repulses in his distant expeditions, he at least cleverly

/337 Cont./

175 The only remedy is to excite against him the kaid of the Neknafa,
 *631 Ahmed ben Mbarek Anflous, who makes a balance to him. But
 726 on the death of the all-powerful vizier protector of the Gellouli
 (1900), the favor of the Makhzen /makhzan/ passes to Ahmed
 Anflous, who in turn gets the command of Tiznit; in these cir-
 cumstances, 'Abd el Malek Mtouggi does not believe the mo-
 ment favorable to get involved in distant conquests; he contents
 himself with subjugating and pillaging the tribes of the Demsira,
 Nfifa, and Dwiran.

V. The great kaid during the anarchy of the Empire

175 (1902-1913) -- The appeal launched by the Sultan to all the kaid
 *631 of the Empire to come to fight against the rebel Bou Hamara, who
 726 had become threatening between Fez and Taza, comes then to
 648 interrupt for a time the conquests of the chiefs of the Atlas. They
 themselves assemble the warriors of their tribes and go to fight in
 the Gharb. But the defeat of the sherifian mehalla in the Rif and
 its rout toward Oudjda and Oranie clearly show them the impo-
 tence of the Makhzen /makhzan/. Having come back to their
 mountains just in time to restore order and to stop the "siba" that
 their absence was enough to cause to break out, the three Berbere
 /Berber/ kaid felt themselves becoming, in the general anarchy
 of the Empire, the uncontested masters of the South. We see
 [669] them then consolidate their /338/ fortresses and construct new
 [712] ones; next they actively take up their military undertakings again,
 as if they understood that their future depends solely on the power
 that they will have succeeded in establishing during the period of
 confusion henceforth opened.

175 Up to now each of them had directed his efforts on the regions
 *631 nearest his casbah and especially toward the plains easy to subdue.
 578 But the great commands now come to touch one another; causes of
 conflict multiply. The Onein, between the domains of the
 Glawa and Gontafa, is the object of dissension, and the partisans
 of the two chiefs come to blows. The high valleys of the Ged-
 miwa and Seksawa are disputed between the Mtouggi and the
 Gontafi, and each favors several amghars in the hope of getting

/338 cont./

175 a foothold in the mountains. Soon the alliance of the kaids of
 *631 Telwet and Bouaboud against the chief of the Nefis takes shape.
 •578 Enclosed as in a vise between the two neighboring commands;
 175 the Gontafi receives the most violent blows, and it happens that
 *631 he is reduced by them to shutting himself up in his mountain for-
 726 tresses, threatened by both the revolt of his tribes and the attacks
 of his rivals (1904-1907). During this time, in the plains, 'Abd
 el Malek and Si el Madani dispute the best lands and take all the
 minor kaids into their protection.

175 Finally the disorder is at its height at the moment when Mou-
 *631 lay 'Abd el Hafid is proclaimed at Marrakech in August, 1907,
 726 under the protection of Si el Madani Glawi, to check 'Abd el
 648 'Aziz "sold out to the Christians." The Gontafi, faithful and
 obstinate, remains a partisan of 'Abd el 'Aziz; 'Abd el Malek
 Mtouggi, whose duplicity is without equal, passes from one side
 to the other, according to whether success appears to favor it; he
 in fact feels threatened among the Haha by the kaid Anflous, his
 enemy, and does not care to compromise his security by a useless
 loyalty. Having passed for a time into the service of 'Abd el
 'Aziz, the Mtouggi routs, at Imi n Tanout, the kaid el Ayadi,
 chief of the Rehamna, and El Hajj Thami Glawi, brother of El
 Madani, on the Nefis; he is even going to take possession of Mar-
 rakech, when news of the victory of the troops of Moulay 'Abd el
 Hafid among the Chawiya (November, 1907) and the rout of the
 "Sultan of the Christians" arrives.

175 The triumph of Moulay 'Abd el Hafid makes Si el Madani the
 *631 grand vizier of the new ruler established at Fez. The power of the
 648 chief of Telwet then becomes limitless. He takes charge of col-
 lecting the tax among the tribes of the north of Morocco, he
 amasses riches, augments his following, and profits from his ele-
 vated situation in order to establish /339/ his brothers at Marra-
 kech and Demnat. He has assigned to him the command of all
 the tribes of the Dir of the Atlas between Demnat and Amismiz.
 His power then is comparable to that of the great Hintata chiefs
 and the Mérinide viziers at the time of Ibn Khaldun /ibn-
 Khaldun/.

/349 cont./

*631 The Glawa's taking possession of the large confederation of
 *634 the Aït Waouzgît will make it clearly understood under what con-
 721 ditions /350/ such a conquest is realized and how they proceed in
 the exploitation of the country.

175 At the time when Si el Madani Glawi began his political
 *631 action among the Aït Waouzgît about 1890, the ancient institu-
 *634 tions were still very much alive in part of the confederation.
 616 About ten cantons of the summits of the Sirwa and of the Azilal
 178 had preserved their Aït arba'in and their small senates. In the
 valleys were found amghars, masters of a single canton, but who,
 by means of the institution of the leffs, extended their authority
 over some nearby groups; such were the chiefs of the cantons of
 the Aït Tigdi Ouchen at Tafounan, those of the Zenaga at Ighil n
 Ogho, of Taliwin in the Zagmouzen, of Tazoult in the tribe of
 the Souktana, of Dou Taourirt among the Aït Semmeg, of Tamjerjt
 among the Aït ou Hamden; finally, of Takhorbant among the Aït
 Wartassa of the Azilal. Moreover, more important chiefs had con-
 quered small commands most often formed, as we have seen, of
 cantons of the two leffs. These were the amghars of the Aït Tadrart
 to the southwest of the Sirwa and, closer to the Atlas, the amghars
 of Tamedakht and Tifoultout among the Aït Zineb.

The working of the leffs seems to us to be noticeably disturbed
 from this period on among the Aït Waouzgît by the ambitions of the
 amghars. In the Azilal, "combat leffs," "imqan n mokahelt," are
 constituted according to the circumstances. As has already been
 said, we no longer get to re-establish a rigorous correspondence be-
 •(578) tween the alliances of the cantons of the Atlas and those of the Tif-
 hout; contradictions also appear to the south of the Sirwa at the
 junction of the "Inemzel-Aït Iraten" leffs with those of the
 "Souktan" and "Igezzoulen" of the Anti-Atlas. This state of divi-
 sion favors the intrigues of the Glawa.

175 Four wars of conquest are necessary for the chiefs of Telwet to
 *631 manage to reduce the large confederation. At the beginning, about
 *634 1890, the whole country resists, without distinction as to leff, the
 616 penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/, and the alliance of the
 726 "Inemzel," the party of the Glawa, comes to detach from the

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616 an ideal manner and extend it to all their discords, starting from the principle that the enemies of their enemies are their friends. Thus, the Gontafi still considers himself a chief of the "Imsifern" and bound by ancient pacts to the Igezzoulen of the Sous and of the Anti-Atlas. The Mtouggi and the Glawi, his adversaries, are therefore for him "Indghertit" and "Isouktan." Hajj Abdallah Ou Bihi, the enemy of the Mtougga, in the middle of the last century, was ranked by the chiefs of Tagontaft in the alliance of the "Imsifern," as well as the family of the Anflous of the Neknafa. Likewise among the Ergita, the Ida Ou Zal, and the Ida Ou Ziki, in which the memory of the leffs is completely lost, even by the oldest old men, the minor chiefs who contend for power rank themselves among the "Ida Ou Zeddagh" or the "Aft Zolit," whose alliance they reconstitute in their minds in their own way, according to the necessities of their politics.

• [578]
* [634] Finally, in the definitively subjugated regions where the former division of the leffs has forever been effaced, certain rivalries between /358/ the cantons or the villages perpetuate the struggles of the past. The commands of the minor sheiks named
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[648] by the Makhzen /makhzan/ must sometimes be fixed by taking into account these traditional oppositions.

It is by the persistence of local dissensions that the old institution of the Berbère /Berber/ leffs continues to manifest itself, while the political traditions of old have disappeared forever.

* 631
* 634 *VI. Does a "Berbère /Berber/ feudality" exist? -- On the whole, the organization of the personal power of the great chiefs of the mountains did not furnish us, as one could have judged by this study, any original feature that might have permitted differentiating it in a precise manner from the "despotic" authority of the amghars who came out of the tribes. The lords of the Atlas really are only former "inflas" who have progressively become
* 631
178 absolute masters of a village, canton, tribe, or region, and who preserve for a time during their rapid rise the memory of the venerable principles on which Berbère /Berber/ society rests; but their ambition, henceforth unbridled, then leads them to deviate or to change the institutions that aided their growth; finally, they

/361 cont./

*631 fixed by the nature of the republican institutions of the mountains.
 *634 In these circumstances, one would hardly imagine that ties of
 194 vassalage could appear among the chiefs, and much less that
 171 feudal tribunals where the accused would be judged before his
 peers would be constituted.

[571] It is possible to point still further to the differences that sep-
 [616] arate our Middle Ages from the regime of the great kaids by re-
 [619] ferring, no longer to the negative characteristics of the barbarism
 of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, but to the aspects that are pecul-
 iar to it. One of them has already been indicated often in these
 pages. The elevation of the amghars to the rank of great kaids
 marks successively, as we have seen, the domination of one soff
 over the others, that of one leff over the adverse leff, of one tribe
 over the tribes and the confederations of the vicinity; in his pro-
 gressive accession to fortune the Berbère /Berber/ chief carries
 along his companions from his village, leff, tribe, according to
 one and another of the different situations depending on origin
 and services rendered; doubtless that is the most original feature
 of the organization of personal power in this country, the one
 which would be sought in vain in Western feudality, born, on the
 contrary, on a soil that had formerly known the domination of
 Rome, where the tribes had disappeared to make way for the
 cities.

*631 It is no less important to call attention to another peculiarity
 *634 of this domination of the amghars, which is related to the char-
 578 acteristic of violence of their power at its origins; none of them,
 726 chief of canton, of tribe, or of region, succeeded in winning it
 175 before having defeated, and often killed, a rival with a strength
 almost equal to his and whose possessions he confiscated. Thus
 the kaids of the Mtougga met as adversaries, about 1850, the
 amghars of the Ida Ou Merzoug; the amghar Mohammed of Tag-
 ontaft had as an enemy the amghar Achefar of Tagemout; the
 family of the kaids of the Glawa at the height of their power had
 to defeat the minor amghar of Taghennoust about 1860; later these
 amghars, who had become tribal chiefs, met the amghar 'Ali of
 Tamedakht, who limited their expansion toward the south

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*634 until the Krupp cannon permitted opening a breach in the walls
 •578 of his casbah. We have seen in the same way that Si 'Omar
 726 Seksawi would not have triumphed in his little domain except by
 175 having the kaid Chtittihi assassinated and by constructing in the
 middle of his lands, on the site /362/ of the razed villages, a
 command fortress.

*631 These features suffice to show us how the power of the
 *634 amghars and of the kaids of the Atlas is distinguished from that
 174 of the feudal lords of the West. The resemblances, when they
 171 exist, hardly concern anything but the life of the chief himself;
 the institutions that in our Middle Ages bind the lord to his king
 or subjects are almost entirely lacking here.

If, nevertheless, the political state of the south of Morocco, which is only a rough outline of our feudality, had to be compared with that of Europe before the formation of the great States, and more complete analogies sought, it is doubtless with the Ireland, the Scotland, and the Germany of the upper Middle Ages, perhaps with Corsica, Sardinia, Albania up to the modern period, that it would be necessary to try to multiply the comparisons. The primitive institutions of tribes, the alliances of families and cantons, the oligarchic constitutions of the small republics existed there for a long time on the confines of the Roman Empire, as in our day in Berbérie /Barbary/: chiefs were born there, whose authority was very weak originally, who could not grow without fighting against the assemblies. Comparisons that it is not appropriate for us to make between these various regions could perhaps show that primitive societies separated across time and space are nevertheless, in the course of their transformations, guided by the same principles, and that laws stronger than men, most often unknown to them, lead their acts into the same paths.

*631 XVII. Fragility of the power of the great chiefs. -- Let us not be surprised that the Berbère /Berber/ chief whose family, thanks to favorable circumstances, has succeeded so rapidly in dominating all the tribes that the eyes can embrace from a summit of the Atlas is, in spite of his apparent strength, threatened by redoubtable perils.

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*631 Aside from the most avowed enemies whom he has forced into exile, the great kaid has on the spot all the adversaries whom his incessant abuses have created for him. He himself does not have, as we know, a feeling for exercising within his command the charge of the government of the tribes, but he seeks only to bring to bear a domination that he wants as productive as possible; the notion of the public good is foreign to him; his companions, whose support is /363/ indispensable to him, are usually still more greedy and their attachment to the common cause often depends only on the profits that they count on reaping from the support given to the master.

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669 The abuses resulting from this state of mind exasperate the latent antagonism that we have already observed between the despotic power of the amghar and the democratic and egalitarian feeling of the masses; revolt is ready to spring up again in the tribes at the first embarrassment of the kaid; indeed, one observes that it breaks out on the frontiers of the command as soon as a piece of bad news for the chief, true or false, spreads in the country.

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593 In addition, another cause of weakness that does not cease to assume greater importance with time is the predilection for discord and intrigue in the very family of the kaid. The large number of children, the rivalry of the wives facilitate disagreements that soon end in the dispersion of authority. This, as one knows, is one of the most active ferments of anarchy within the Mussulman states. Islam, in growing stronger in the mountains, brings it with it to the Berbères /Berbers/ in their small commands.

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648 The great chief of the Atlas -- at least at the time when France has not yet guaranteed his authority -- knows all these reasons for fearing the future; he lives in uneasiness, the fear of the dagger or poison; immense tribal contingents follow him to war today, but he knows that perhaps tomorrow he will have no more to protect him in the "siba" than a handful of brothers and his faithful slaves. One quite well imagines under these conditions the terror that could have been cast into the hearts of the mountain lords in 1912 by the preaching of the "blue men," Arabs from

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121 mountain states to aid one another in war and peace. Sometimes
171 these associations, to which the name of leffs is often given, are
*634 linked with the memory of the great struggles of the upper Middle
591 Ages between the autochthons and the invaders; sometimes they
appear to us as venerable institutions whose origin is no longer
known and which are closely bound up with the conditions of ma-
terial existence and local traditions.

121 The political regime to which the Berbères /Berbers/ remain
171 attached with the most firmness, when they are living in inde-
*634 pendence, is thus a kind of organized anarchy; all the large
642 families apply themselves then to maintaining, within the bound-
aries of a canton, a rigorous equality among them; it is under
these circumstances that constitutions originate, democratic in
appearance, oligarchic in fact, which have the purpose of regu-
lating among all the notables the equitable sharing of the profits
of power and of distributing among all the inhabitants the burdens
of the common life. The Anti-Atlas, the Rif, the western Jbel,
Kabylie /Kabyliä/ before the conquest hardly knew, it seems,
any other institutions in the course of history; the Haut-Atlas /High
Atlas/ itself, which has seen such surprising political transforma-
tions for two generations, was still found in the middle of the past
century divided into small republics similar to those of the
Djurjura at the time of its independence.

121 When the tribes preserve their traditional political organiza-
171 tion, one barely sees arise, under identical aspects in these di-
619 verse regions of sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/, a precarious per-
*634 sonal power limited to the narrow frontiers of one tribal fraction
598 in the cadre of one valley. The petty tyrannies that then form
are so fragile that the chiefs, emerging from the struggle of the
soffs within villages, barely masters of a minuscule territory, are
most often carried off without return by a change in the equilib-
rium of the parties in the interval of one or two generations.

121 One region alone forms an exception to this extreme in-
171 stability of the power of the amghars, who are usually only the
*631 ephemeral masters of the little mountain cantons. The Sous at
*634 the end of the nineteenth century, and more particularly the part

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*631 II. The large commands of the Atlas. -- The conditions under which the power of the chiefs of the Atlas is formed in our time is explained, as we have said, by simple laws; it will suffice for us, /396/ in order to bring them to light, to recall briefly the various stages of their conquest of the tribes.

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*631 At the beginning of the last century, several hundred little republics, united among themselves by two chains of alliances, make up an immense chessboard that covers the greater part of the mountains and thus delimits the region in which the long game, whose stake is the liberty of the Berberes /Berbers/, is going to begin between the assemblies, the amghars, and the Makhzen /makhzan/.

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*634 At the outset, in the small canton where equilibrium is realized among the heads of all the large families, of all the "ikhs" that share the benefits of the local government, several ambitious ones appear, who think that their greater strength merits them a larger part of the profits; soon two parties form and confront each other; the winner takes the title of "amghar" and replaces the oligarchy of family heads by the tyranny of a single one.

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*634 In this minuscule territory of a small tribal fraction, in this "taqbilt" where the domination of one "ikhs" over the others is thus established, the new chief feels the urgent necessity of maintaining the union that he has realized for a moment by internal force by reviving external wars. Thanks to the ancient alliances concluded between the small republics of the country, he easily manages to extend his influence afar, and soon he undertakes to subject a veritable tribe to his will. If he succeeds in defeating the chief of the opposite alliance, he places the enemy "taqbilt" under the yoke of his leff, and with the support of his canton of origin he organizes, in various forms, the exploitation of a tribe by a canton.

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*634 If fortune continues to favor the victorious amghar, one then sees him try to subjugate, with the help of contingents that he has raised in the tribe of which he has become the uncontested master, extensive territories in the plains; entire confederations pay tax to

/404 cont./

121 want to succeed in dominating and subduing the tribes are in-
 171 spired by the same principles in a social milieu remaining like it-
 *631 self. The constitution of a small solid core, resistant, blindly de-
 554 voted to the leader, linked with his interests, remains in all cir-
 182 cumstances the necessary condition for success. Even when great
 religious thoughts or a kind of national feeling manage to come
 to light in the fractioned mass of Berbère /Berber/ republics, the
 prophet or conqueror must have the positive balance that the
 strength of a clan or of a tribe represents, in order to break down
 particular resistances and to orient the efforts of all the small com-
 munities toward the single end that he is proposing for their ac-
 tivity. /405/ The existence of this central group of brothers and
 faithful ones moreover enables us to understand the irresistible
 power that the Berbère /Berber/ enterprises of conquest can attain
 when an internal force assembles in that way and directs the
 martial energy of the montagnards. But it explains to us, at the
 same time the fragility of these amazing political constructions,
 capable of returning to nothingness as easily as they come out of
 it.

121 In fact, the great chiefs of today were yesterday men of a
 171 canton and of a tribe; they keep intact in the depths of their mem-
 *631 ory, as do all the companions from their village associated with
 554 the work of conquest, the recollection of internal hatreds and ancient
 182 vengeance, which make up the life of their small fatherland.
 • 578 Each difficulty of their enterprises, however, will be marked by
 the awakening of those hostile forces that they dominated for a
 time, in the very vicinity of the modest hamlet from which they
 came, and they will often have to intervene with implacable
 tenacity in order to annihilate them, under the penalty of being
 swept away by the return of their enemies, whom fortune seems
 to favor anew.

*[634] Even when the Berbère /Berber/ amghar would succeed, by a
 [616] prodigy of political spirit, in maintaining the union among his
 canton or tribal brothers and in moderating the hostility of the leffs
 and soffs in the bosom of which he grew, he would not, however,
 be able to find in his previous experience the example of

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121 institutions and laws suitable for directing him in governing his
171 new state. All his cleverness has been exercised up to then in
*63 the narrow cadre of a village assembly; it is not in these repub-
554 lics, where a concern for ensuring equilibrium among the ambi-
182 tions of the greedy and stubborn "inflas" too often takes the place
578 of a feeling for the public interest, that the leader can get les-
616 sons in disinterestedness and wisdom.

*634 Consequently let us not be surprised that this Berbère /Berber/
121 state is ignorant of the laws of the city, that it has no capital
171 other than a fortress in the heart of a warlike tribe. The leff
*631 spirit, the taste for pillage and booty here take the place of an
182 ideal of justice and a feeling of faithfulness. It is not in this coun-
try that one can see growing, as in our Western feudality, that
powerful hierarchical organization whose base is the family, the
king the keystone, and which, like a vast cathedral, is capable of
surviving for long centuries, even when the forces that caused it to
rise have disappeared.

121 /406/ In Berbérie /Barbary/, antagonism is too marked and
171 hate too deep between the chief surrounded by his brothers and
*631 companions, on the one hand, and the heavily taxed subjects on
182 the other; the burden of the domination of this tyrannical master
578 very quickly becomes intolerable. Also, just as the walls of the
house of the lord of the Atlas crack when they are scarcely out of
the ground, so does his power, as soon as it is founded, soon give
signs of approaching ruin. The great chief's father was a victori-
ous amghar who conquered the tribe; he himself knows how to pre-
serve or extend the domains received as inheritance; but there will
come his son, who will be incapable of triumphing over both
family quarrels ceaselessly multiplied or "siba" ceaselessly rising
again; his grandson will hardly still be the master of a canton. In
half a century the defeated ones of former times will have taken
back their lands and the assemblies will have profited from the
anarchy to restore the former law, forgotten for a time.

(648) When the Makhzen /makhzan/ intervenes in time to collect
the political heritage of the Berbère /Berber/ chief before his
descendants have allowed it to be dispersed, its government

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121 appears to be smitten by the same weaknesses. In vain do the
 171 prestige of divine right, the respect inspired by the holy legisla-
 *631 tion of the Koran, the co-operation of the force of the armies,
 182 the attraction of the Mussulman civilization unite to organize and
 •578 pacify the Empire. The men on whom the sherifian authority can
 648 count have no experience other than that of an unlimited despot-
 ism or of an unbridled anarchy; they govern the people as the
 Berbère /Berber/ horseman rides his horse: exhausting its powers.

So the royal dynasties themselves are scarcely more lasting
 than those of the amghars; the city spirit reveals itself to be
 powerless to unite the provinces with their capitals. A crenel-
 ated rampart separates the towns from the tribes and marks the
 boundary between two irreconcilable and opposed social lives.
 If in the course of centuries the Sultan's conquests succeed in ex-
 tending ceaselessly farther the limit of his Empire, at the same
 time, by a kind of law of equilibrium, one sees the "siba" gradu-
 ally gain larger areas. This millenary struggle, which is the
 eternal drama of the political life of Berbérie /Barbary/ and in
 which the chiefs are worn out more quickly than the tribes, will
 come to an end in North Africa only through the advent of a new
 order brought about by the French conquest.

/407/ V. The maraboutic States; their relative stability. --

792 we could be reproached here for simplifying to excess the aspects
 795 of this opposition of chiefs and tribes if we left in shadow the ex-
 *631 istence of the maraboutic principalities, so flourishing in the Sous
 [175] several centuries ago and which have existed up to our day in the
 [178] mountains of the Rif and the heart of the central Atlas.

[128] In these pages devoted to the study of the institutions of our
 time, we did not think it necessary to study at length the charac-
 teristics of these religious states, because they have ceased to
 have any appreciable importance in the south of Morocco by
 reason of the progress realized in the course of the last centuries
 by the authority of temporal leaders and the Sultan. At least we
 [648] must tell how the presence of these fiefs, constituted by the
 masters of the zaouias and brotherhoods, brings no element of

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avoid the abuses of power and the heavy contributions that frequently arouse among the subjects of the amghars and kaid the desire for the liberating "siba."

• (578) These reasons suffice to explain how the maraboutic states most often grow without encountering internal resistance; it is only when the zone of influence of these holy personages extends beyond the boundaries of several tribes that one discovers with surprise the importance that they have assumed. It is at this moment also that their rivalries with the marabouts of the younger branches or of religious families of different origin suddenly ignite war among the montagnards, who have become the respectful servants and devoted defenders of their respective chiefs.

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The external policy of the masters of the large zaouias finishes making us understand how, in the struggle between the Makhzen /makhzan/ and the tribes, they most often choose the side of Berbère /Berber/ independence.

As the history of the Sous has shown us, it is during the period when the spirit of holy war developed with the most force, following the Portuguese occupation of the coasts of the South, that the religious lords most easily founded their states in a country remaining anarchic; the marabouts found themselves upheld by the diffuse power of the Islamic faith, and they were haloed with the prestige that the defenders of territory threatened by the Christian conquerors always have among these independent tribes. Still in our day, the zaouias of the shorfa /shurfa/ and of the marabouts, founded in the highest and most difficult part of the country of the Jbala and of the Rif, kept their prosperity up to the moment of pacification. As a matter of fact, their masters were the natural leaders of the "jihad" against the Spanish, whose presence on a few parcels of the soil of the Maghreb had made the threat of foreign domination weigh heavily for five centuries.

(198) When the sherifian power is strong enough to restore the unity of the Empire and to defend the integrity of the soil of Islam with its own resources, the prestige of the marabouts naturally decreases. Sometimes, it is true, the Sultan tries to utilize the religious leaders in the mountains in order to obtain more easily the submission of distant /410/ tribes.

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792 it manages, in voluntary isolation, to remain apart from the
795 Makhzen /makhzan/.

*631 However that may be, the long influence of the religious
792 leaders in the past leaves no traces in a large part of the South of
178 Morocco in our day other than the presence of their respected
tombs; their descendants live without glory in poor villages, and
the only role that they still can play is to arbitrate simple family
quarrels. In former times they tried to stop the evolution of the
country threatened by the Makhzen by exerting in favor of the
tribes a resistance that permitted them to found states. But in the
course of the /412/ last century, the progress of the Empire made
exercise of their authority impossible; the history of the last gen-
erations shows us no more than the almost regular seesaw of the
conquests of the Makhzen and the sibas, the opposition of the
chiefs and the assemblies. Two irreducible hostile forces, two
irreconcilable conceptions of political life take each other's
measure in the Sous as in a closed field, and the mediation of the
religious powers can no longer usefully be exercised to attenuate
the violence of the struggle.

*631 VI. Consequences of the tribes' submission to the Makhzen.

648 -- In spite of the efforts of the tribes and the revolts that followed
17 the end of the sultans' reigns, the nineteenth century was marked
in the south of Morocco by the constant progress of the policy of
the Makhzen /makhzan/. During the confused period of the first
years of the French occupation, moreover, the great chiefs of the
mountains and the kaid's of the plains for 15 years proceeded with
the transformation of the Berbère /Berber/ country with new ac-
tivity.

Consequently, no region of Morocco enables us to perceive
as well as the Sous does the consequences that their entrance into
the Sherifian Empire entails for the small, formerly autonomous,
mountain states.

The only benefit that the Makhzen brought to the Berbère
/Berber/ tribes is internal order. Under the government of the
kaid's, struggles of sofs and lefs are indeed stopped or limited;

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*631 this progress still remains precarious, since passions, restrained
648 during the years in which the authority of the Sultan's representa-
17 tives is exercised without being contested, break out anew at the
first "siba," with a still greater violence. The peace in which
[578] the new subjects then live is bought by the destruction of most of
[669] the traditions and customs, habitudes of local government and of
primitive justice, which for the inhabitants of the mountains are
inseparable from their very life.

[792] The marabouts, whose arbitration was exercised not only to
stop the battles of cantons and tribes but also to settle in compli-
ance with equity differences of a private nature, disappeared
first; no longer do we see them intervene with sheiks and kaids to
defend the poor and weak as they were privileged to do with the
senates of "infilas" in the time of freedom. The old tribal law
[671] ceases to be /413/ applied and often the day of submission marks
[693] that of its effacement. It makes way for the more distant and
abstract justice of the cadis, whose complaisance toward the new
leaders is obvious.

*[634] At the same time, most of the economic institutions of the
[343] small Berbère /Berber/ cantons, whose regular functioning re-
quired the deliberation of family representatives, are smitten with
[712] decline; the agadirs fall in ruins, the common treasuries are
[652] squandered, the corvées for mutual aid become irregular, main-
[466] tenance of the séguilas and roads, even the protection of the crops
[653] are no longer the object of the same care as in former times.

Finally, ownership of the land, so profoundly disturbed in cer-
tain regions near the casbahs of the great chiefs, becomes uncer-
[423] tain; the constitution of the large domains of the kaids of the At-
[166] las entails, in a country already too poor to feed its inhabitants,
the disappearance of a large number of villages and the progressive
exodus of the Berbères /Berbers/ toward regions where the security
of possessions and persons is more certain.

[735] When the domination of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is established
without intermediaries and allows all its weight to bear down on
the tribes, thanks to the unlimited authority of foreign leaders, one
sees profound poverty develop; one of the most constant principles

2. *Alliances and Agencies for Negotiation and Arbitration*

The traditional social units of Moroccan rural society, involving increasing segmentation as one moves from the confederation or the tribe to the extended family, do not easily lend themselves to the maintenance of peace and harmony. In the pre-Protectorate period rivalries between different blood groups, strong regionalism, and the attitude that insults to "honor" were best avenged by the vendetta, all tended to override the sense of unity derived from geographical proximity, the use of common markets, and brotherhood in Islam. This tendency was rendered all the more critical in the Berber areas by this ethnic group's traditional antipathy towards any form of centralized political authority.

In the Berber areas these centrifugal forces were traditionally countered and controlled by an elaborate system of religiously inviolable alliances combined with an equally elaborate system of "checks and balances" and agencies for the negotiation, mediation, and arbitration of disputes. These compensating factors, although somewhat slow in operation and therefore often ineffective in preventing local social disturbance, did generally contain the dispute within a small area and thus limit its consequences. Similar institutions were also present in the Arabic-speaking areas of the *Bled el Makhzen*, although some suffered suppression at the hands of the central authority.

a. *Shame Compulsions and Covenants*

In the absence of a central authority with strong police powers, interpersonal and intergroup relationships and alliances in both pre-Protectorate Berber and Arabic-speaking society were rendered binding and inviolable through the use of religious shame compulsion ('ar) and covenant ('ahd). In Morocco the word 'ar implies the transference of a conditional curse for the purpose of compelling somebody to grant a request, the power of the conditional curse deriving from the mysterious power inherent in the curse (which may sometimes be reinforced by the invocation of another supernatural power or object). Thus, if a person says to another, *Ha l-'ar alik*, "Here is 'ar upon you", it implies that if